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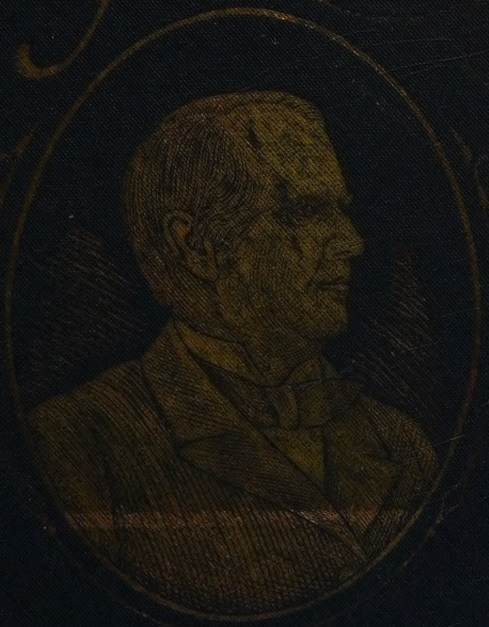

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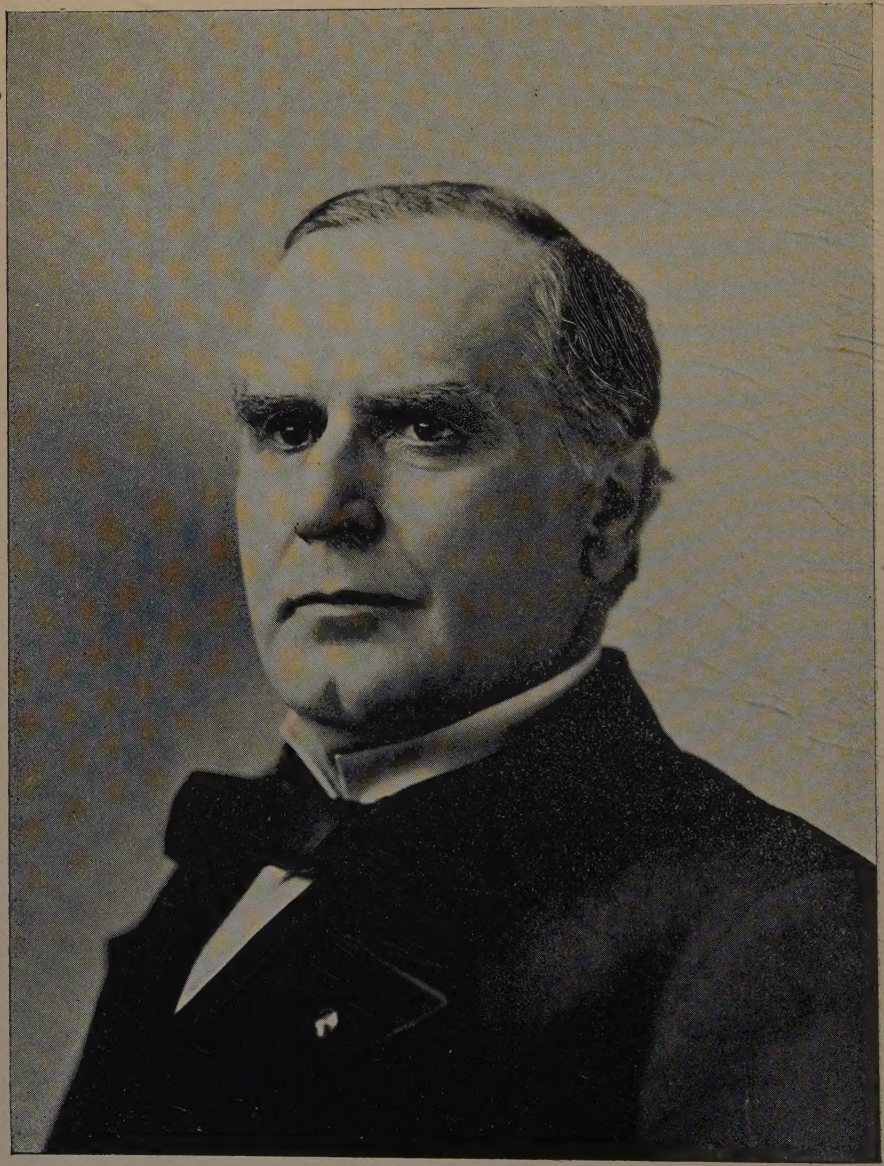

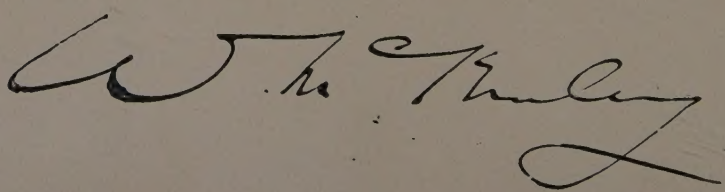

MRS. M'KINLEY.

LIFE OF

WILLIAM McKINLEY

SOLDIER, LAWYER, STATESMAN

BY

ROBERT P. PORTER

CLEVELAND, O.:
THE N. G. HAMILTON PUBLISHING CO.
1896.

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PUBLISHER'S NOTE.

IN presenting to the public an authentic life of William McKinley, we are responding to a desire on its part to understand more fully the character and to learn with more exactness the particulars of the career of a man who more than others compels the attention and occupies the minds of the people.

Aside from the powerful political interest attached to McKinley, his life has been one so typical of all that is best in the self-made American, his career one that affords such stimulus and inspiration to the youthful brain and sinew of our country, that it is with genuine satisfaction we publish the stainless record of the citizen, soldier and statesman.

When we asked Mr. Porter to undertake this biography, it was with the knowledge of his peculiar fitness—as writer, economist and personal friend of McKinley—for the task. For years an investigator of industrial topics, as member of the Tariff Commission, Superintendent of the Eleventh Census, and active journalist, Mr. Porter has had unusual opportunities to observe the progress of the Nation under a generation of protective policy, and he, perhaps, more than any other, save McKinley himself, has given the people an intelligent understanding of its working.

It is with satisfaction we call attention to the illustrations in this book, so unusual in number and degree of excellence. As for the data, it has been gathered in the most painstaking manner from a variety of authoritative sources and carefully verified. No labor has been spared and no expense considered in order to make this work not only a complete and interesting biography, but a clear and perfect chapter in the industrial history of our country.

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INTRODUCTION.

A STUDY of the life, of the military services and of the public career of William McKinley comprises much that is instructive, fascinating and historical. Essentially a man of the people, his rise from a lad, born in an Ohio village, to the position of one of the foremost statesmen of the times, is full of interest to the American public. Still in the prime of a vigorous and developing manhood, the subject of this sketch presents alike to young and old the possibilities of our free institutions, when supplemented by patriotism, integrity, courage, perseverance and unbounded faith in the economic policies which best promote the welfare of our common country. The story is that of a serious and earnest life—a life of devotion to duty, to principle and to the public service. Aided by nothing save an honorable parentage, a good constitution, a quick perception, a courteous bearing, a brave heart and a high sense of honor, this youth in his teens was mustered into the army and began the conflict of life on the Nation's battle-fields—a conflict continued in the halls of National legislation, and closely interwoven with the last twenty-five years of National progress.

Such a career becomes part of the history of the

Republic, and the name of William McKinley will always be associated with the most important fiscal legislation of the latter part of the century. He stands to-day the principal living exponent of the protection side of the great economic question which divides the two political parties. Back of him we find a glorious array of American statesmen, who have thought as he thinks, believed as he believes, and who have, at various stages of the Nation's history, taught the doctrines that he teaches. Deeply imbedded in the foundations of the Republic as are the principles of protection, the work of demonstrating the truth of these principles beyond the reach of doubt fell to the lot of McKinley. The McKinley Tariff law stood on our statute books the industrial Gibraltar of the Nation. When it was attacked, our industries were threatened. When it was taken by the enemy, many of our great industries fell with it. The name of McKinley will always be associated with the wisest, the broadest, the most harmonious and the most American fiscal legislation of the century—with legislation that promoted enterprise, stimulated commerce, employed labor, increased wages, and did much to make the people contented and prosperous. Whatever the future may have in store for this stalwart American citizen, his name will always be synonymous to the myriad bread-winners throughout the Union with fair wages, plenty of work and good times.

That the heart of this man of the people should beat in unison with those who toil, with the millions

engaged in the gainful occupations, is natural enough when we read the story of his life. He has marched in the ranks side by side with his comrade, the private soldier. He has tasted poverty and learned useful lessons of frugality as a young and struggling country lawyer. In the broader field of statesmanship to which he was called nearly twenty years ago, his influence and sympathy have always been given on the side of those who toil for daily bread. Surely we have here varied and useful lessons—experiences calculated to develop the broadest humanity, the deepest sympathy for labor, and the most earnest endeavor to improve the condition and elevate the standard of that vast army of our fellow-beings whose weekly or monthly wage forms the only barrier between happy and contented homes and absolute penury. That a man thus born and with such experiences, should believe in a policy which has done so much for labor as some do in religion, is not a matter of surprise, and that he should have converted a nation to his belief is an indication both of his own unwavering faith and of the tremendous strength of the facts, figures, history and earnest eloquence which he has marshalled to win over and convince.

It is the purpose of this volume to present the most complete popular life of McKinley yet published. All incidents of his boyhood life at Niles and Poland have been obtained by personal visits to these places, and by conversations with those who knew the young soldier and statesman. The facts relating to

McKinley's ancestors we believe have not been published before, and in a measure explain the source of his fighting qualities and strong Americanism. As will be shown, when the call to arms came, the slight, pale-faced, grey-eyed and earnest young student flung aside his books, and with a fervor of youthful patriotism decided to shoulder a musket for the Union. To be sure he was young, but there was splendid Revolutionary fighting stuff in that anything but stalwart frame. Without much consideration as to the result, the college student enlisted as a private. He had no particular influence, no powerful friends, nothing but a clear mind and a stout heart, brimful of patriotism and love for the Union, to help him in the weary marches, the dangerous expeditions and the fierce conflict of war times. The facts in relation to the war record of McKinley have been obtained from the papers of the officers under whom he served and from other original sources, and are believed to comprise the most authentic history of his military career yet given to the public.

The next glimpse we have of this eminent statesman is at Canton. The war ended, the youthful soldier modestly laid aside the accoutrements of war, wasted no time in recounting his exploits and adventures as a soldier, and entered upon the study of the law. He graduated from the Albany (New York) Law School. One year after the close of the war he was a briefless young lawyer in the little town of Canton, Ohio, studying early and late, and

endeavoring to eke out a somewhat scanty living by the aid of such retainers and fees as would come to one experienced in civil war, but inexperienced in the practice of the legal profession. An effort has been made to give the real every-day life of the young lawyer, and to picture the surroundings under which his fertile mind was developed and his sterling character built up. That McKinley at this time of his life gave evidence of brilliancy and ability there seems to be no doubt, for within a comparatively few years after he began his practice, the people of Canton recognized in him a man with a future, and elected him prosecuting attorney of Stark county. This happened twenty-five years ago. In this capacity McKinley had opportunity for displaying both his felicity and facility of speech. He was soon regarded as an excellent advocate. His exactitude of thought, his precision in expression, his earnestness of manner, and the moral force which he seemed to put into all his cases, won for him the respect and admiration of the Stark county bar. Those who imagine for a moment that McKinley would not have made a profound jurist had he not devoted the best of his life to statescraft have evidently no conception of the man at the period of his career when he in a measure gave up his law practice to accept the nomination for Congress.

The facts brought out in this work will show that he managed admirably the cases which came to him, and in several important trials attracted the attention not only of his colleagues at the bar, but of the

public at large. The case referred to in these pages namely, that of a number of miners prosecuted for riot, in which McKinley's argument to the jury in behalf of the accused was at that time looked upon as a notable effort, is remembered to this day in Canton by those who knew him at this period of his life.

Many interesting stories will be found in this volume of his every-day life in Canton, which have never before been published. As a lawyer in those days, McKinley was always regarded as thorough and careful. He was not one of those men who waited to try his cases until he got into court. Few lawyers have prepared their cases with a view to all possible contingencies as McKinley did. This characteristic followed him into National politics, and many a time have his eloquent, though not so alert, free trade antagonists been led into a trap by the skillful preparation and absolute mastery of all the facts which McKinley invariably gives the questions under consideration. He appears to have enjoyed in those days the confidence of his own locality in much the same way as he now enjoys the confidence of the great political party with which he is allied. He was respected as a citizen, beloved as a man of kindly bearing and gentle spirit, and admired as a rising lawyer and prominent advocate. When he entered his broader public career, he was well prepared for it by the thorough course of reading and the study which he had gone through. In this respect we shall note an analogy with Garfield,

who, like McKinley, possessed elements of strength by reason of his conscientious study of political subjects.

McKinley was first elected to Congress in 1876. His natural dignity, his thorough acquaintance with the economic questions under discussion, together with that self-contained, reserved force which always seemed a strong element in his make-up, at once gave him a good position in Washington. Added to this, he had been a member of General Hayes's staff, and hence enjoyed the social advantages of being an intimate friend of the President of the United States. For fourteen years McKinley remained in Congress, steadily increasing in influence with the great leaders of his party. Quiet, dignified, modest, considerate of others, ever mindful of the long services of the veterans of his party, true as steel to his friends, unhesitating at the call of duty, no matter what the personal sacrifice, unwavering in his integrity, full of tact in overcoming opposition, yet unyielding on vital party principles, with a heart in sympathy with those who toil, a disposition unspoiled by success, and a private life as spotless as self-sacrificing, William McKinley overcame all the great obstacles in the way of a young legislator struggling for success in the United States capital, and in 1890 succeeded in passing through Congress the Tariff bill which bears his name, and which has made him famous throughout the civilized world. The steps by which he reached the position of the natural, logical leader of the Republican party, it will be the

endeavor of this book to recount. The brilliant series of speeches which began in 1878, when he attacked with great force the tariff bill introduced into the House by Fernando Wood, to the elaborate and statesmanlike report and eloquent and convincing oration with which he closed the tariff debate in 1890, will pass under review.

After all, the passage of the McKinley Tariff law only marks an epoch in the life of McKinley. The battle began with renewed fury almost immediately after this law became a statute of the United States. The work had been accomplished with infinite tact and wisdom. The aim was to reduce duties wherever they had reached beyond the protective and near the prohibitive point; to add to the free list every article that could not be produced at home in quantities to insure wholesome competition; to make free such necessaries as sugar; to fearlessly increase the duties on commodities that could, with a higher rate of duty, be manufactured at home, such as tin plate, pearl buttons, higher grades of textiles, and other miscellaneous manufactures which were not being produced in the United States. The idea which permeated the McKinley law, from the chemical schedule to the administrative regulations, was how to increase the labor, the wages and the opportunities of American workmen. No one who examines the McKinley Tariff law, unbiased by partisanship, can deny this.

The passage of this law was the signal for a conflict which few statesmen in the history of free govern-

ments could have withstood. It was assaulted as no other law has ever been assaulted during this generation. An epidemic of assumptions, falsehood, prejudices and platitudes seemed to seize the whole country. For a time even Republican leaders had misgivings.

The thoughtful face, the imperturbable personality, the indomitable courage, and the unbounded faith of William McKinley during this period alone seemed to hold the Republican party together. He never wavered for an instant. With a fervor born of conviction, he had thrown his ambitions, his hopes, his very life, into the great cause he represented. Its defeat was his defeat. Its triumph was his triumph. From the apparent defeat of his cause in 1890 and again in 1892, he arose, courageous, steadfast, hopeful. Others might change, others might doubt, others might modify their views, but he stood firm for a protective tariff—for the American producer against the foreign producer. He accepted with true American spirit the popular verdict. He challenged the interpretation put upon it by political opponents. He took an appeal to the people, and in two years from the crushing defeat of 1892 he led the Republican hosts to the greatest victory and the most stupendous change in the popular vote of a country ever recorded. The tide turned. The result of the Free Trade policy was apparent. Thoughtlessness was followed by thoughtfulness. The object lesson was received, noted, and the decision reversed. Undismayed by defeat and undazzled by victory, the

subject of this sketch is again the leader of the American people, and he stands to-day the most popular statesman in the United States. More than this, he stands for the right principles of government and against wrong.

The history of a man thus closely identified with the economic progress of his country, is full of absorbing interest. His everyday home life, his methods of work, the tendency of his thought, and all that clusters around his personality are subjects which interest his countrymen, and will be treated impartially in these pages.

Great as were the struggles of these fourteen years in Congress, there are at least two other striking and dramatic periods in the life of this man which belong to our National history.

The first was during the memorable National convention of the Republican party held at Chicago in June 1888. McKinley was there as a delegate from Ohio, under instructions from his State convention to do all in his power to bring about the nomination of John Sherman. He was made Chairman of the Committee on Resolutions. At a very critical time a newspaper, friendly to the great Ohio leader, suggested that the man who wrote the platform ought to be made the nominee.

It was during the fourth ballot that a delegate from Connecticut cast a vote for William McKinley of Ohio. Immediately the recipient of this vote was seen to arise in his place and attempt to make himself heard. A storm of applause burst forth and the

cheering for McKinley was prolonged. Finally he made himself heard, and made the following earnest and long-to-be remembered speech:

Mr. Chairman and Gentlemen of the Convention: I am here as one of the chosen representatives of my State; I am here by a resolution of the Republican convention, passed without one dissenting voice, commanding me to cast my vote for John Sherman and use every worthy endeavor for his nomination. I accepted the trust because my heart and judgment were in accord with the letter and spirit and purpose of that resolution. It has pleased certain delegates to cast their votes for me. I am not insensible to the honor they would do me, but in the presence of the duty resting upon me I can not remain silent with honor. I can not consistently with the credit of the State whose credentials I bear and which has trusted me; I can not with honorable fidelity to John Sherman, who has trusted me in his cause and with his confidence; I can not consistently with my own views of my personal integrity, consent, or seem to consent, to permit my name to be used as a candidate before this convention. I would not respect myself if I could find it in my heart to do, to say or to permit to be done that which could even be ground for any one to suspect that I wavered in my loyalty to the chief of her choice and the chief of mine. I do request—I demand—that no delegate who would not cast reflection upon me shall cast a ballot for me.

McKinley spoke with great sincerity and with evident earnestness, and when he had concluded he was most generously applauded. This was per-

haps one of the most dramatic scenes ever enacted on the floor of a National convention.

The second time McKinley, then Governor of Ohio, put the Presidency aside was at Minneapolis in 1892. He was not bound by instructions from his State, but he considered himself none the less bound to the cause of President Harrison. When the State of Ohio was reached on the call of the first ballot for President, the leader of the delegation announced its vote for William McKinley, Jr. This was a signal for a spontaneous burst of enthusiasm from the galleries. Hurried consultations of the various State delegations were held, and amid the cheers and applause which continued, one leader after another arose to announce the change of his State to McKinley. The Governor, evidently much affected by the demonstration, but firm and composed, rose in his place as presiding officer of the convention. Immediately the tumult was hushed. All bent forward to hear what the great leader had to say. All felt that a critical moment had arrived—a moment which might decide who the standard-bearer would be. In unfaltering tones, McKinley demanded a poll of the delegates from Ohio, and declared that he was not a candidate, and desired the roll to be called in order that he might record his vote for President Harrison. The tide was checked, the ballot proceeded and the result is a matter of history.

Twice had McKinley put from him a nomination which would have been purchased at the expense of broken pledges.

McKinley has not won his places in public life at all times easily. Several of his Congressional contests were as noted as any that ever took place in the history of the government. In one his margin was so narrow that his seat was contested, and the trial and final adjustment of that famous case is one of the epochs in the history of the American Congress. In another, his last Congressional campaign, he was defeated by a narrow vote in a district gerrymandered against him, and out of that defeat he arose as if it were a victory, as in truth it was. His two Gubernatorial canvasses were among the most noted in the history of his State. Plunged into joint debate during the first one, he found himself pitted against James E. Campbell, one of the most popular and adroit Democrats of the day. In his second campaign he spoke in eighty-six of the eighty-eight counties of his State, a feat that had never before been equalled, nor is it likely to be for many years to come.

There is probably not a more stalwart and sturdy figure to-day before the American people than William McKinley. The story of his life is not only instructive but interesting; it is the history of an American for Americans; its activity is so interwoven in the life of the Republic during his career of the past thirty years, that political friends and foes may read it with profit and learn an important lesson.

R. P. P.

CLEVELAND, OHIO, December 15, 1895.

CHAPTER I.

REVOLUTIONARY ORIGIN.

William McKinley From Good Fighting Stock on Both Sides—His Great-Grandfather Enlisted Eight Times in the Revolutionary War—His Grandmother's Father, Andrew Rose, Jr., Fought and Forged Bullets and Cannon Balls for the Patriots—The American Spirit Born in Him

MORE than a century before William McKinley, the subject of this sketch, became famous as an advocate of industrial freedom, his fighting ancestors had expressed themselves in no uncertain manner in favor of a government free and independent of Great Britain. True, like all of us, they sprang from British soil, but, as will be seen in this particular instance, on both sides they came from a line of people never much imbued with the spirit of monarchy, and who were always willing to fight, if needs be, for liberty of conscience, freedom from tyranny, and individual equality in government.

According to family traditions, James and William McKinley, who founded the two branches of the McKinley family in this country, one in the Southern states and the other in the Northern, came direct here from the North of Ireland. This in itself should be introduction enough, for many of our

greatest patriots and most eminent statesmen have pointed with pride to their Scotch-Irish ancestry. Combining, as it does, the shrewdness and brain-power of the Scotchman with the more volatile and generous instincts and fighting qualities of the Irish race, the descendants of this nationality in the United States have, relatively to their numbers, made a greater impression on our National life, and have done more in the upbuilding of the Republic than any other line of emigrants. They have invariably been patriots at heart, men of strong convictions, of the strictest integrity in their dealings with their fellow-men, capable of great sacrifices for principles which they believe in, and ever ready to shoulder a musket for the defense of our republican institutions and government.

James and William McKinley, whom we first hear of as emigrants from the North of Ireland, were predominantly of Scotch descent, as the family was originally from the West of Scotland. Back of their advent to this country, more than a century and a half ago, there are no records. We simply know that at the time of their arrival in America, James McKinley was but twelve years old. Naturally we are more interested in him from the fact that this young Scotch-Irish emigrant, who, with his relatives, crossed the Atlantic in a small sailing ship at the beginning of the last century, was the father of David McKinley, the great-grandfather of William McKinley, the popular American statesman of to-day. James McKinley it was who settled

in Pennsylvania, and founded what is known as the David McKinley branch of the family, whose history is herein recorded. The other brother, William McKinley, who likewise sought a home in what in those days were barren shores and wildernesses, settled in the South. Thus it seems that the two brothers, either by intention or accident, separated, the one going northward and the other southward, but the good, sterling ability and character which was implanted in them seems to have asserted itself in both branches of the family. The McKinleys of the South descended from William McKinley. They have held offices of trust, were noted for good citizenship, for good morals, and are recognized as men of ability. One member of this branch of the family became an associate justice of the Supreme Court of the United States. One of the descendants of the original William McKinley who settled in the South was named Stephen, and as late as 1888 a son of this descendant of the original stock, Stephen McKinley, lived at Folksborough, Pennsylvania. Another descendant of the Southern branch of the family, Russell A. McKinley, settled at Clearfield, Pennsylvania, and is a Presbyterian preacher.

Turning from the descendants of William McKinley, it may be well to examine the facts in relation to the descendants of James McKinley, who first appears at the beginning of the last century as a boy of twelve years of age, who seems to have settled in York county, Pennsylvania, and May 16, 1755, we have the record of a son having been born to him.

This son, David McKinley, was the great-grandfather of the present William McKinley. So far as we are able to judge, no mention has been made by those who have written sketches of William McKinley's life of his Revolutionary ancestors. The official answer to an inquiry as to the Revolutionary ancestry of William McKinley is herewith printed, and speaks for itself.* It shows that David McKinley

* DEPARTMENT OF THE INTERIOR,
BUREAU OF PENSIONS,
WASHINGTON, April 6, 1895.

In reply to your request for a statement of the military history of David McKinley, a soldier in the Revolutionary War, you will find below the desired information, as contained in his (or his widow's), application for pension on file in this bureau:

Date of Enlistment or Service Appointment.	LENGTH OF SERVICE.	RANK.	Officers under whom Service was rendered.	
			CAPTAIN.	COLONEL.
June, 1776	7 months...	Private	W. McCaskey	McCollister, Pa.
1777	2 months...	Private	Ross	Smith, Pa.
1777	2 months...	Private	Laird	Not stated, Pa...
1777	2 months...	Private	Reed	Gen. Potter, Pa.
1778	2 months...	Private	Holderbaum	Elder, Pa.
1778	2 months...	Private	Sloymaker	Boyd, Pa.
1778	2 months...	Private	Robe	Bar, Pa.
1778	2 months...	Private	Harnahan	Not stated, Pa...

Battles engaged in: Defense of fort at Paulis Hook, and skirmishes at Amboy and Chestnut Hill.

Residence of soldier at enlistment: Chanceford, Pa.

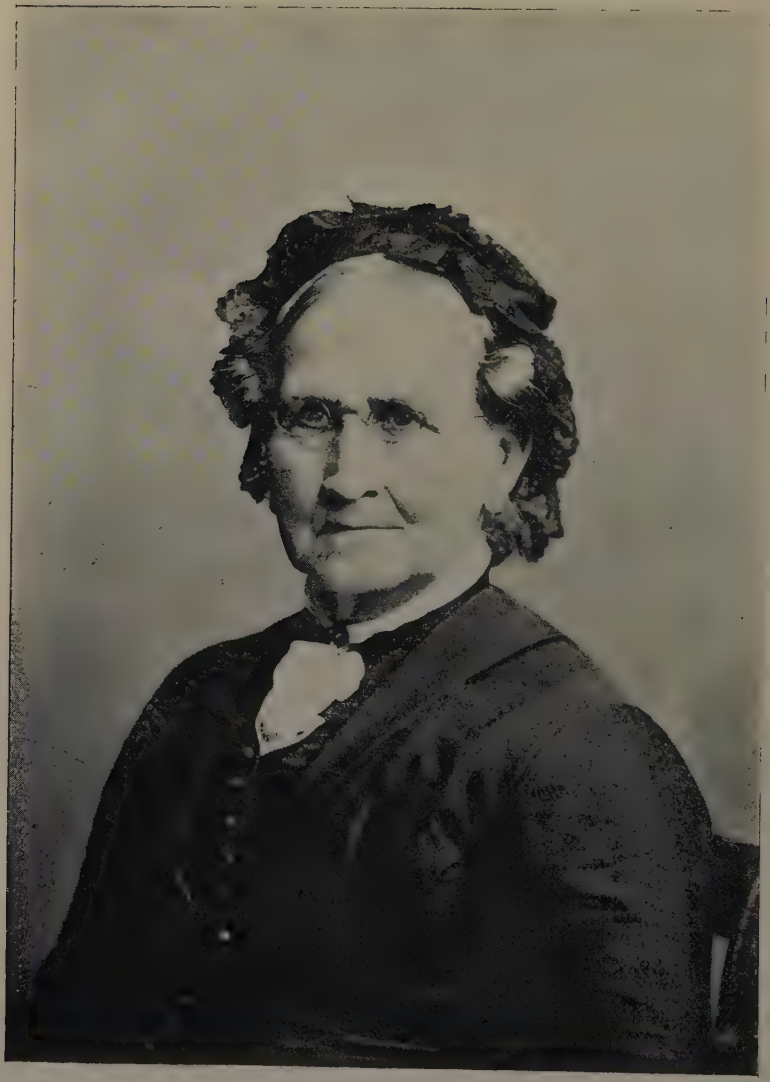
Date of application for pension: August 15, 1832.

Residence at date of application: New Lisbon, Ohio.

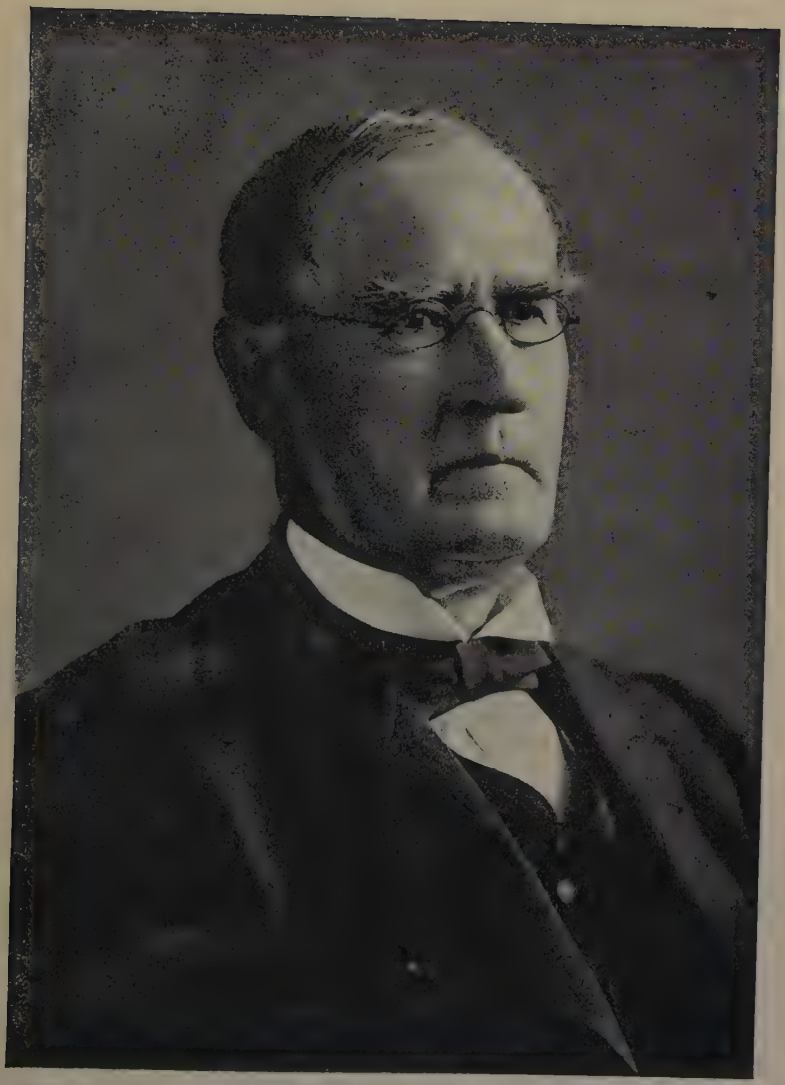
Age at date of application: Born May 16, 1755, in York county, Pa.

REMARKS: After the war, lived in Westmoreland county, Pa., fifteen years; then removed to Mercer county, and in 1814 settled in Columbiana county, Ohio.

Very respectfully,
WM. LOCHREN, Commissioner.



MRS. WILLIAM M'KINLEY, SR.



WILLIAM M'KINLEY, SR.

enlisted as private in the Revolutionary war in June, 1776, and that he served for seven months under Captain McCaskey and Colonel McCollister; that he again enlisted in 1777 for another six months, serving under Captains Ross, Laird and Reed, Col. Smith and General Potter; there still being need for volunteers, in 1778, we find that David McKinley was again ready to take up arms against the British, and he enlisted, this time for eight months, serving under Captains Holderbaum, Sloymaker, Robe and Harnahan, and Colonels Elder, Boyd and Bar. It has been impossible to obtain any data as to the battles in which David McKinley was engaged, or as to his personality. He was in the ranks. Each time he enlisted as a private and there is no record of a promotion. In this respect he was not as fortunate as his descendant, William McKinley, Jr., who started in as a private and came out as a brevet major. That David McKinley saw active service there can be little doubt. The record shows that he was engaged in the defense of the fort at Paulis Hook, and in skirmishes at Amboy and Chestnut Hill. Moreover, it shows that during this service he was wounded, how severely we do not know. On his return from the army in 1778, he seems to have resided in Westmoreland county, Pennsylvania, and here married. The marriage of David McKinley and Sarah Gray was celebrated December 19, 1780, about two years after his discharge from the army. It will be noted that while David McKinley did not serve as long in the Revolutionary war as William

McKinley did in the War of the Rebellion, they both took part in active military service for their country before they had fairly reached manhood, David McKinley being hardly twenty-one years old when he shouldered a musket for independence, while William McKinley some years before he reached his majority, shouldered a musket for the Union.

In 1780, we find David McKinley of Westmoreland county, Pennsylvania, a young man of twenty-five, with evidences of loyal service to his country, and a young wife of his own age by his side. For more than a generation this couple seems to have lived in Pennsylvania, where the following children were born to them:

William McKinley, born December 6, 1781, and lived in Mercer county, Pennsylvania; died, May 6, 1807.

James McKinley, great-grandfather of William McKinley, born September 19, 1783, married "Polly" or Mary Rose, and resided in Mercer county, Pennsylvania.

Martha McKinley, born September 16, 1785, married James Rose.

John McKinley, born November 6, 1788, married for second wife a Gilson, resided next farm to James Rose, in Mercer county, Pennsylvania.

Sarah McKinley, born May 4, 1790.

Stephen McKinley, born August 23, 1792, married a Quillin for first wife, married a Nelson for second wife, lived in Mercer county, Pennsylvania.

Rachael McKinley, born May 19, 1795, married Barney Anderson, and resided in Lawrence county, Pennsylvania.

Esther McKinley, born October 11, 1797.

Mary McKinley, born June 6, 1800.

Elizabeth McKinley, Betsey McKinley, married Daniel Boozle, a blacksmith, and resided in Lawrence county, Pennsylvania.

David McKinley lived in Westmoreland county, Pennsylvania, fifteen years; he then removed to Mercer county, and in 1814 settled in Columbiana county, Ohio; he afterward removed to Crawford county of this State, where he died. The date of application of David McKinley for pension, August 15, 1832, shows that it was only when old age seemed to overtake him that he made application, fifty-four years after he was mustered out of service, for such assistance as a now firmly established Republic was willing to accord to veterans of the Revolution.

David McKinley's first wife Sarah, and the mother of all his children, died October 6, 1814, and one year later, at the age of sixty, he was married, this time to Eleanor McClean. His second wife died in 1835, without issue. So the McKinley's whom we have to deal with are all the descendants of David and Sarah McKinley of the State of Pennsylvania, and later of the State of Ohio. David McKinley lived for five years after the death of his second wife, and we find a record of his death August 8, 1840, and of his burial on the tenth day of the same month,

in the old cemetery in Crawford county, Ohio, in a lot purchased by his grandson, William McKinley, Sr., then a man of thirty-three, the deed for which is recorded in Bucyrus, Crawford county.

It is assumed that at the time of his death David McKinley was living with his grandson at New Lisbon. It appears that James McKinley, son of David, had moved to New Lisbon in 1809, when William McKinley, Sr., was one and a half years of age. Here it was that the father of the present William McKinley worked in Gideon Hughes' furnace. From the fact that David McKinley's application for a pension was dated from New Lisbon, it may be safe to assume that he resided with his grandson.

On his grandfather's side, William McKinley can boast of Scotch-Irish ancestors, and a great grandfather who fought in the Revolutionary war. On his grandmother's side he is equally well off, except that the ancestors of Mary Rose, who married James McKinley the second, originally came from England. As the Scotch ancestors of McKinley left the heather and bogs of the Highlands for Ireland's more genial shores and thence emigrated to America, so we find that the ancestors of Mary Rose fled eastward from England to Holland in the hope of freeing themselves from religious persecution, and from thence emigrated to America. The first Rose of whom we have any tradition is Andrew Rose, who was an emigrant with William Penn. Andrew Rose came from Holland whither, with his family, he as a Puritan had fled from England on account of

persecution. Land encompassing sixty miles in Pennsylvania, on which Doylestown now stands, was given to him. Andrew Rose seems to have been considerable of a man. He was not only, as we have seen, a large landowner, but he was one of the representatives of the thirteen colonies before the Revolutionary war. It was his son, Andrew Rose, Jr., who was the father of Mary Rose, afterward the wife of James McKinley and the mother of William McKinley, Sr.

Andrew Rose, Jr., the great-grandfather of William McKinley on his grandmother's side, was undoubtedly about as useful a man in our early disturbances with England as his great-grandson has proven himself to be in the more recent attempts of the British government to destroy American industry and impoverish American labor. Andrew Rose was not only a fighter but a mechanic of no ordinary capacity for the time he lived in. Not only did he shoulder a musket and buckle on a sword and do valiant duty for his country on its battle-fields, but he was so versed in the art of producing instruments of warfare that it is rather doubtful as to which of the two branches he excelled in. We hear of him in the Revolutionary war up to the battle of Monmouth, when he was sent home to make bullets and cannon balls for the colonists, as he was a founder by trade. From this aptitude of his ancestors (on his mother's side) it may be that William McKinley, Sr., inherited his ability as an iron master. However this may be, Andrew Rose, Jr., seems to have combined

the occupation of soldier and manufacturer for the cause of American independence; while David McKinley, William McKinley's ancestor on his paternal side, seems to have combined successfully the occupation of Revolutionary soldier and pioneer farmer. That they were children of the battle-field and the soil, there can be no doubt. That they were patriots and their fathers and grandfathers before them, is undoubtedly true, for on the one side we see clearly set forth the old Covenanter stock, who cared neither for king nor devil, and on the other side the freedom-loving, self-sacrificing Puritans, who, after fleeing from persecution in England and finding no peace and no outlook for their endeavors, turned their faces to that broader and more hopeful horizon, westward across the stormy Atlantic.

The war over, and the demand for fighters and implements of destruction having ceased, Andrew Rose, Jr., took up again the peaceful occupation of founder and moulder. He was married twice. By his first wife he had two sons, John and Henry, but of the issue from this marriage we are not concerned. His second wife was a Miss Chapman, a relative of the eminent Dr. Chapman of Philadelphia, by whom Mr. Rose had eight children: Betsey Mitchell, Ephraim, Jacob, Andrew, James, Polly, Chapman and Benjamin.

Polly, or Mary Rose, was the grandmother of William McKinley, Jr. Andrew Rose, Jr., as we have said, was a founder and moulder by trade. He moved from the Etna Furnace, Durham, Bucks

BIRTHPLACE OF M'KINLEY AT NILES, OHIO.

county, to Center Furnace, Center county. At this time it was that the family of Andrew Rose, the Revolutionary warrior and maker of bullets and cannon balls for the patriots, became acquainted with the family of David McKinley. Finally, besides business partnerships and associations, we find Mary Rose married to James McKinley. Later, some of the other children of Andrew Rose, Jr., notably Ephraim Rose and Benjamin Rose, assisted William McKinley, Sr., their nephew, the former as blower, the latter as keeper at New Lisbon, Ohio, where they ran an iron foundry. Ephraim Rose had a son John, who was a wheelwright, and had a shop at Newcastle, Pennsylvania. He was a year and a half older than William McKinley, Sr. Another Rose, James, was interested in the iron business with William McKinley, Sr., in Mercer county, at Slippery Rock, and, as we understand, also with Ephraim and Benjamin Rose at New Lisbon. It will thus be seen that not only relationship by marriage, but by association in business, sprang up between the McKinley family and the Rose family, and that the descendants of these two families were joined together by the marriage of James McKinley and Mary Rose. This couple moved to New Lisbon in 1809, when William McKinley, Sr., was one and one-half years of age. Several of the Rose family had farms adjacent to or close by one another in Wolf Creek township, Mercer county, Pennsylvania. James Rose was married to Martha McKinley, daughter of David and Sarah McKinley, April 3, 1806, so that

we have here two connections by marriage with the Rose family.

With the issue of James and Mary McKinley we are particularly interested. They were as follows:

Elizabeth McKinley—Born June 10, 1806.

William McKinley—Born November 15, 1807.

David McKinley, Andrew McKinley (twins)—Born May 10, 1810.

Celia McKinley—Born April 26, 1812.

James McKinley, Mary McKinley (twins)—Born July 31, 1814.

Sarah McKinley—Born April 18, 1816.

John McKinley—Born April 18, 1818.

Ephraim McKinley—Born June 23, 1821.

Hannah McKinley—Born December 14, 1825.

Martha McKinley—Born May 19, 1827.

Ellen McKinley—Born July 5, 1830.

Benjamin F. McKinley—Born December 4, 1832.

William McKinley, Sr., their oldest son, lived latterly in Canton, Ohio; he was the father of nine children, one of whom is Governor McKinley of Ohio. William McKinley, Sr., was born on the Dougherty farm, Wolf Creek township, Mercer county, Pennsylvania, November 15, 1807. In the twenty-second year of his age he was married to Nancy Allison, the ceremony being performed by Rev. A. G. Richardson. Mrs. McKinley, the mother of William McKinley, is still living in Canton. She is a woman of strong character and has always been devoted to her distinguished son. The names of the children of William and Nancy Mc-

Kinley are as follows: David Allison McKinley; Annie McKinley, died July 29, 1890; James McKinley, died October 12, 1889; Mary McKinley; Helen Minerva McKinley; Sarah Elizabeth McKinley; William McKinley; Abigail Celia McKinley; Abner McKinley.

These facts, which are published for the first time, give an index to the characteristics of the man whose life it is proposed to present in the chapters which follow. We may certainly trace in these lines of ancestry McKinley's fighting qualities, his patriotism, his Americanism, and his conscientious performance of all the duties of life. From these ancestors he inherited the reverence for religion, love of free institutions, devotion to the cause of the people, because he was of the people, and his admiration for the public school system and all institutions that are truly republican and truly American. His own life, though with broader opportunities and a larger field than that of his ancestors, was entirely in keeping with the kind of stock he comes from. While McKinley's ancestors were neither great generals, lords or dukes, nor landed proprietors, he has reason to feel proud of their patriotism, their love of freedom, their sturdy honesty, and their capacity for taking up and entering into the new conditions which confronted them in the pioneer days of this western land of promise.

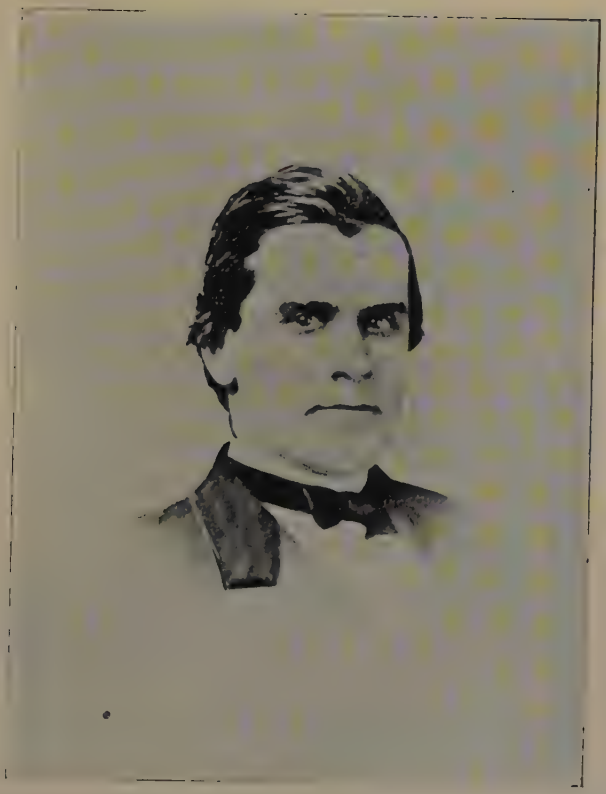
CHAPTER II.

BOYHOOD AT POLAND.

Father and Mother—Birthplace of McKinley at Niles—Early Bringing up—The Strong Force Which Formed His Character—The Village of Poland—Boyhood Companions—Dramatic Scene at the Old Sparrow Tavern—Drilling on the Common—Company E of Twenty-third Ohio Depart Amid Tears and Applause—The Boyish Private.

WILLIAM McKINLEY was born at Niles, Trumbull county, Ohio, in a frame house which answered the double purpose of a country store and dwelling. It was a long, two-storied building, with many windows. Luxuriant woodbine ran along the gabled roof and fell almost in masses over the broad doorway and hall windows. In spite of the fact that a thriving country business was carried on in the lower story, the place had an air of thrift and domestic comfort, conveyed in part by the fresh muslin curtains at the windows and the wealth of foliage which always lends an air of refinement.

Niles is a small Ohio city, and at the time of the birth of William, January 29, 1843, his father, William McKinley, Sr., was managing an iron furnace there. As we have seen in the preceding chapter,



M'KINLEY AT NINETEEN YEARS OF AGE.

the McKinleys inherited not only fighting qualities, but the skill of iron manufacturing, from their Revolutionary ancestors. The father took naturally to this occupation and followed it until 1876, when he retired. This was his business in the early part of the century at New Lisbon. In 1829 he established an iron foundry at Fairfield, Columbiana county, Ohio. For twenty years William McKinley, Sr., was interested in iron furnaces at New Wilmington, Ohio. From Niles he moved to Poland, because of the educational advantages of Poland Academy. Shortly after he was associated with S. O. Edison, uncle of Thomas Edison, to construct iron furnaces at Black River, now Lorain. In 1869 he moved to Canton with his family, intending to retire, but he enjoyed and managed iron interests at Caseville, near Saginaw, Michigan, up to 1876, when he retired. He kept track of his business with exactness up to three weeks of his death, which took place November 24, 1892.

William McKinley, Sr., was a man of character and of the highest integrity. His habits were frugal and regular; he was a hard and constant worker. While at times it was a struggle to provide for such a large family, he conscientiously performed what he believed was his duty and made every possible sacrifice to educate and make useful men and women of his children. In all this he was more than seconded by his noble wife, McKinley's mother, whose maiden name was Nancy Campbell Allison. Mrs. McKinley was one of those rare women who are destined to

shine in all sorts of good and useful work, whether in pioneer life or amid the comforts of our modern homes. McKinley owes much to this good mother. All the children were instilled with sound Christian ideas of life and with a patriotism and love for their country which made no sacrifice for it too much. Moreover, the mother was an intellectual force, and encouraged boys and girls alike in their studies, and was ever ready to surrender her own personal comfort that they might equip themselves as thoroughly as possible for the battle of life.

Here we have a strong force in the development of the young man's character. Many of the wholesome traits which in after years endeared the soldier and statesman to comrade and fellow-countrymen, may be traced to the early teachings of the mother, who still lives to feel proud and happy over her son's achievements. That her son should have won fame is undoubtedly a source of gratification and pride to the mother, but her real happiness comes from the fact that he is a man of honor and integrity. To this plain, sweet, simple pioneer mother, who has experienced much of the hardships and struggles of early Western life, with a large family and limited means, the fact that her son William is a man of high principles and patriotic instincts and has never ceased to love and cherish her, is a greater comfort than the fact that he may some day occupy the White House.

The Allisons originally came from England and settled in Virginia, but that branch of the family

from which McKinley is descended emigrated from Virginia to Green county, Pennsylvania, and there was born Abner Allison, the grandfather of McKinley. Abner Allison married, in 1798, Ann Campbell, who came of a Scotch-German family. Early in the present century, this couple, then having several children, left Pennsylvania for Ohio, making the journey by means of horses, Mrs. Allison riding the entire distance on horseback, holding in front of her their youngest child.

The Allisons settled on a farm, some eight miles above New Lisbon, Ohio, and there, in the year of 1809, was born their sixth child, Nancy, who became the mother of McKinley. Later the Allisons left the farm and removed to New Lisbon, where several other children were born to them, making in all a family of ten children—five sons and five daughters.

The girlhood of Nancy Allison was passed quietly on her father's farm and in the peaceful little town of New Lisbon. In the year 1827 she was married to William McKinley, Sr., and afterwards the young couple went to Fairfield, Ohio.

At eighty-seven, Mrs. McKinley is able to travel and take a lively interest in current events. She lives at the family home at Canton, and with her reside an unmarried daughter, Miss Helen McKinley, and two orphan grandchildren. Of her parents' large family there are now remaining only herself and a younger sister, Mrs. Abigail Osborn, aged seventy-seven years, widow of the late Abner Osborn of Youngs-

town, Ohio; she is now McKinley's nearest living relative on his mother's side.

Mrs. Osborn possesses the mental and physical characteristics of Mrs. McKinley, Sr. The same happy disposition, the sweet, womanly dignity, the natural intelligence and kindness of heart have made of these two women the most enjoyable of companions and the most tender of mothers, of whom it can truly be said: "Their children rise up and call them blessed."

One who knew Mrs. McKinley in the old days at Poland speaks of her quiet dignity of manner, of her never-failing watchfulness of the young family, and of her influence for good. Not only the memory of the mother, but of McKinley's sister Annie, who was for many years an accomplished school teacher, and indeed of the whole family, are cherished by the people of Poland. It was a family full of sunshine and hope; of self-sacrifice on the part of both father and mother, and of filial devotion on the part of children. It represented a pure American home, where sound religion and love of country were inculcated from childhood. It was typical of those homes which turn out the best and most useful citizens of the Republic. Hear what this friend says:

Many of McKinley's good qualities, both of heart and mind, were due to his mother. I recall her quiet dignity of manner. She was just the same in the midst of common-place duties as in a palace if she had been reigning there. All her old friends and neighbors of Poland who speak of her agree to this. Her character, for all that is

commendable in a woman's sphere, stands pre-eminent here in church and in the hearts of her friends—she had that blending of sweetness and strength of will and purpose that has been a rich inheritance to her children. You can not find in all Poland any unkind criticism or even a shadow of a thought derogatory to McKinley and his family. His oldest and nearest friends in youth appreciate his characteristics and speak of him with the same unstinted praise as those who have known him of recent years. This is certainly the best testimony coming from those that had no emoluments of office or gain of place or position to influence them in those days, when there was nothing to gain or lose thereby.

McKinley's mother and his entire family seem to have made an indelible impression upon this little village, which is really refreshing to those who have studied the man in the larger affairs of life. Even the old postmaster, whose name was Case, and who, appointed by Buchanan, still adheres to his Democratic principles, is willing to give his young assistant a good character for industry, faithfulness and conscientiousness in the discharge of his duties. McKinley worked in the postoffice the year preceding the breaking out of the Rebellion. In fact he was assisting Mr. Case in Poland when he enlisted in the army. Case is proud of the reputation his young clerk has made for himself, but his affection has not been strong enough to induce him to give up his Democratic fallacies.

McKinley's boyhood life really began at Poland, as he was but a child when his parents moved from

Niles and made a home in this little village in Mahoning county. His surroundings and society were partly agricultural and partly mining, for Poland stands well by both these industries. It is the center of a rich farming country, and in its appearance partakes more of this characteristic than of coal and iron mining. It is the most southeastern township of the original Western Reserve. One of the original Land Company from Connecticut settled at this point.

Unlike most new places, orthographic reasons entered into its baptism. It was named Poland because the early settlers declared it was a word not easily mispelled.

Poland, as we find it to-day, is a neat little village about eight miles due south of Youngstown. The principal artery of Poland is Main street. Indeed, it might truthfully be said all of Poland, save the academy, clusters round and about Main street. This thoroughfare, which begins near the Methodist church and terminates with a good sized common and a Presbyterian church, is not precisely straight, which is all the better for the general appearance of the place, and yet it follows a general north and south direction. Main street is well shaded with handsome trees. The painful checkerboard appearance of single street villages is not only modified as above mentioned but also in the fact that Main street wanders over a hill, down a dale and crosses a picturesque brook.

As we have said, pretty much all there is of Poland

HOUSE IN POLAND, OHIO, WHERE M'KINLEY LIVED WHILE ATTENDING THE SEMINARY.

may be found along this street. Well-to-do and poor have their residence here. The various stores do business on this street. That center of politics and gossip, the rickety old postoffice, in which McKinley as a schoolboy served as clerk during vacation, is on Main street. Further along we find the village grist-mill beside the brook. The old Sparrow tavern, built in 1804, now falling into decay, is likewise on Main street. Stirring scenes for a village like Poland have taken place within the crumbling walls of this old building. In slave days many a runaway slave was secreted, and after the pursuer had been thrown off the scent, the unhappy wretches were sent on to Canada and freedom.

This old inn a generation ago was enlivened by the mutterings and murmurings of mustering hosts. Poland had strong enlisting propensities. It was the banner township. The boys went to the front just as quickly as the National Government would take them. Poland's pride to this day is that she never stood the draft. Her quota was always full and overflowing. Said an enthusiastic Polander to the writer: "Of this she rightfully is proud. When the war cloud had burst over our heads, Poland came promptly to the front with more than her share of treasured sons, as her offering."

And the preliminaries were, as a rule, conducted at the Sparrow House. One day in June, 1861, a crowd had gathered in this old tavern. An impassioned speaker pointed to the stars and stripes which hung on the wall, and exclaimed with much expression:

"Our country's flag has been shot at. It has been trailed in the dust by those who should defend it, dishonored by those who should have cherished and loved it. And for what? That this free Government may keep a race in the bondage of slavery. Who will be the first to defend it?"

A deadly silence reigned in that hotel parlor. Many beating hearts there were in the room. Many young patriots stood there who longed to serve their country, and yet had not the courage to make the first move.

Presently a space was cleared in front of the eloquent speaker. One by one some of the choicest of the young men of Poland stepped forward. Among them a slight, grey-eyed, boyish figure might have been observed. Too much impressed with the seriousness of the situation to put himself in evidence, he stepped up with the rest. He was only a boyish private then.

But this is a digression. Other chapters will be devoted to the young soldier. For the moment we are dealing with Main street, Poland. Even the common is on Main street. Here the young recruits drilled and marched with pride, while the mothers and maidens of Poland alternately applauded and wept. Here, too, these same boys had played and romped before war's alarms made serious, thoughtful men of lads in their teens.

Nor will it do to ignore the fact that Poland, on Yellow Creek, is of importance as a mining place. Coal and iron ore are found in the township, as well

as a superior grade of limestone. Indeed, it is said that this coal bank produces one of the finest brands of bituminous coal in the world. The coal is harder than ordinary soft coal and commands a very high figure, especially in the Western markets.

The educational advantages of Poland were recognized more than a generation ago, for did not William McKinley, Sr., move there because of the excellent academy. He had a family of sons and daughters to educate, and in those days, as indeed, now, this institution of learning had a good reputation. As we have seen, the academy is about the only part of Poland that is not claimed by Main street. The building was a substantial one, and was built before 1850, but as these pages are being prepared, news comes from Poland that the old building, after the storms of so many years, collapsed and several of the students had narrowly escaped with their lives. But the memories created by the army of youth that has passed through its portals will always be kept green by the loyal Polanders. It was located west of Main street, and stood aloof from the rest of the village. This academy is an institution the people of Poland think a good deal of. It is still a well attended school and its rosters boast the names of many who afterwards distinguished themselves as men and as useful citizens.

Such, then, is Poland, and from all that can be learned it has not changed much since McKinley was a boy. In this old Ohio village he was brought up, attending the public school, and subsequently the

academy at Poland. Life at Poland until the war broke out was far from exciting. Youths like McKinley were obliged to study hard, and not infrequently do odd jobs to help earn money for books and tuition. As they advanced into professions, it was often necessary to teach school, clerk in a store, work on a farm, or take up some other occupation during vacation. The McKinley family never hesitated to do this, and as a result all were equipped with good educations, two of his sisters became excellent teachers, and he himself taught one term of winter school in what was then called the Kerr district. The school house still stands. It is about two and one-half miles by road southwest of Poland, but young McKinley usually strode manfully "across lots" to shorten the distance. Many who live in Poland still remember seeing the young schoolmaster climbing fences and making his way over the rolling surface of the country to and from his duties. He was thus able to assist in defraying the expenses of his tuition and that of other members of the family at the academy.

This sort of life, while it developed and sharpened the intellect, has a tendency to shorten the period between boyhood and young manhood. McKinley, so those who remember him as a boy in Poland declare, was a real boy, full of fun, loving athletic sports, fond of horses, hunting and fishing, and all out-door exercises, and yet at sixteen we find him taking upon himself a serious view of life. Before he was eighteen he had enlisted. Compare

POLAND, OHIO, SEMINARY, WHERE M'KINLEY ATTENDED SCHOOL.—FROM A PHOTOGRAPH TAKEN FIVE DAYS BEFORE THE COLLAPSE OF THE BUILDING, WHICH OCCURRED NOV. 23, 1895.

a lad with such an experience as that of McKinley's and one of our boys of to-day, just out of school and ready for college, and you find a great difference. The one is a self-reliant young man, conscious of defects of training and education, but fairly well prepared to battle with the world. The other is often an irresponsible boy, with little thought of anything beyond class work and college sports.

The church records show that young McKinley in 1858, when he was hardly sixteen, united with the Methodist Episcopal Church of Poland. The minister, Rev. W. F. Day, D. D., was a man of great influence and subsequently eminent in his profession. Dr. Day's son, Wilson M. Day, is now President of the Cleveland Chamber of Commerce. McKinley, like so many other successful men, seems to have had the faculty of utilizing all the educational forces within his reach. Aside from any deep religious convictions, the church, when in the hands of a scholarly man, was an influential educational factor in a place like Poland. Young McKinley's record in the church was that of an earnest, persevering Christian, who discharged all duties faithfully.

They say at Poland he was eternally asking questions in the Bible class. He took up the study of the Bible in the same thorough way that he did the law, and later in life questions of state, and went to the bottom of the subject. Thus between the age of fourteen and the time he enlisted, this young American statesman must have worked very hard.

A close student, and always up with his academy studies, occupied every evening until after midnight in a course of law reading, leader of the village debating society, assisting the postmaster, teaching school, doing odd jobs, and all the time a constant attendant at church and questioner in the Bible class, these were indeed busy days for William. Fortunately a good constitution, hopeful heart and cheerful disposition enabled him to go through this unusual strain safely. It undoubtedly had the effect of maturing his mind and hence fitted him earlier than most young men for the active, practical side of life.

An old friend of McKinley's who remembers him as a school teacher when a lad not much over sixteen, writes from Poland: "It is needless to seek for any adverse criticism. In going about among old friends and neighbors, one hears nothing but remarks on his universal standard of honor and high principles. I said to a neighbor coming out of church, who had lived in a house almost touching the McKinley residence, and of course had intimate knowledge of them, 'What are your reminiscences of the Governor?' 'O, nothing but good. He was always studying, studying, studying all the time.' Among my own personal recollections the vivid impression remains of genial, happy, buoyant, whole-hearted self-surrender for the happiness and best interests of others in social encounter. This was true of the family. A sunshine, a radiance of countenance, that needs to be seen to be appreciated. Once seen and

MAIN STREET, POLAND, OHIO, AS IT NOW APPEARS—THE BUILDING AT THE EXTREME LEFT IS THE VILLAGE POST OFFICE, WHERE M'KINLEY WAS A CLERK.

realized, it would never be forgotten. I never saw or felt quite the same benignity and human kindliness as glowed from his sister Annie's face. Her influence as a teacher you will doubtless hear in other ways. There is in existence a memorial that witnesses eloquently to the above facts in regard to her endless influence."

The influence of McKinley's mother was not the only woman's influence under which he was brought in these early days of Poland, and which had more or less to do with shaping his character. As we have seen, his elder sister was an intellectual force, not only in the McKinley family, but in the community. Her friend, Miss E. M. Blakelee, McKinley's teacher, was also a woman of much force of character. The part these two excellent women played in the earlier life of McKinley will be more fully understood by the perusal of the following letter, which was received by the writer of this volume from a resident of Poland and an old friend of McKinley's family:

I interviewed Governor McKinley's old teacher, who resides in Poland. To her I heard him pay an eloquent tribute at one time. It was when he was requested to deliver the annual address to the graduating class in the year 1883. Mrs. Morse, the teacher referred to, was then Miss E. M. Blakelee. She was a friend of particular intimacy of his sister Annie. They vied with each other in the number of years they should round up as faithful school teachers. Miss Blakelee finally married E. K. Morse, of Poland, after teaching for nearly thirty

years, much of that time in Poland. In this address, Governor McKinley ascribed much of the good influence upon the youth that went out from the Poland Union Seminary to her—Miss Blakelee. She was a graduate of Oberlin College. She was of Puritan stock. She was a firm, resolute, earnest character and did much, very much, in her quiet, womanly way, to influence and impress those under her care. Too much praise can not be inscribed to her for what she did. The results are felt in many homes, by many firesides, as well as in many intellectual centres that are now bearing fruit. Many people that have rightfully won places to distinction and honor would bear testimony to these truths as well as Governor McKinley. Mrs. Beauchamp, a sister of Miss Blakelee, also taught here for a time. She was a woman of rare intellectual ability and force of character. She was here in the school at the time of the Governor's return from the war. She wielded that influence in an especial, vivacious, energetic way upon all the youth with whom she came in contact. Governor McKinley saw much of her, too, in those days, and doubtless felt as we all did the mental uplift and aspiration which she inspired. I vividly recall that it was at this time that Mrs. Browning wrote "Aurora Leigh," and it was a mooted question with Governor McKinley and Miss Blakelee which poem was better, Mrs. Browning's "Aurora Leigh" or Owen Meredith's "Lucille." She was intensely interested in political questions then, as now

McKinley's education may be summed up in this way: From early childhood he had the great advantage of that careful, intelligent, religious training

which parents of the high character of his father and mother would be likely to inculcate. He had the advantage of sound intellect and good education on both sides. His elder brothers and sisters were no less anxious to educate themselves than he. He had the advantages of the public school of Poland, afterwards of the academy, which was an excellent institution for those times. He left the academy when about seventeen, and entered Allegheny College. Here, however, he remained only a short time, returning to Poland in consequence of illness. Recovering, he did not again return to Allegheny, but taught a country school. At this period in his life he enlisted. Returning from the war, as we shall see, he entered upon the study of the law with Judge Charles E. Glidden at Poland, afterwards taking a course of study at the Albany Law School, of which school he was a graduate. The chapter on the early days at Poland closes with the departure of the young soldier for the war.

The scene at the old Sparrow House was followed, as we have seen, by drilling of the raw recruits on the common, and the preliminary excitement which the departure of so many of the young men of the village to fight for their country must have occasioned. These were, indeed, stirring times for Poland, and sad times, too, for the good mothers, wives, sisters and sweethearts of the boys thus suddenly called to defend their country's flag. A captain, a first lieutenant and second lieutenant were elected for the new company, and for the moment Poland

had quite a military air. The women met and made "havelocks" of white linen, a la General Havelock, of the Indian rebellion. These little articles were intended as a protection from the heat of the southern sun. "The havelocks were soon discarded," writes a Poland friend who took part in this incident, "but the lint we scraped then was only the beginning of the faithful work we women did at home. In such work as making bandages and comforts for the soldiers in their suffering in the army, during the four years that followed, we all engaged."

Thus did Company E of the Twenty-third Ohio go forth from the village of Poland in high spirits and with flying banners, carrying with it the blessings and the loving prayers of those they left behind them. That day half the village followed them, some marching as far as they could in the procession to Youngstown, where the railroad was reached. At this point they were met by others and started to join the regiment at Camp Chase, Columbus. With this little company, followed by many fervent prayers and loving thoughts from father, mother, sister, teachers and old school friends of the gentler sex, marched the boyish private—William McKinley.

CHAPTER III.

THE YOUTHFUL SOLDIER.

McKinley's Entrance to a New and Strange Life—He Joins Colonel Rosecrans's Regiment — Develops Ability for the Business of War — Ex-President Hayes Describes the Boyish Private—Two Years on Hayes's Staff—Gallant Conduct at Antietam—Made a Second Lieutenant—General Hayes's Diary.

PICTURE, if possible, from this imperfect sketch the little company of recruits from Poland as they marched down the road to Youngstown, followed by the blessings and God-speeds of their loving friends and neighbors. It was a beautiful summer day, and all Poland had turned out and half the village seemed marching with them. The hearts of the young fellows must have swelled with pride as they were cheered by those compelled to stay at home. They had indeed gone forth in obedience to the call to arms. They proposed to share in the defense of the homes of Poland, and something to spare, for Poland, be it remembered, was never subject to draft. She always had her full quota at the front.

Some of Company E were mere striplings, boys hardly out of their teens, all anxious to do what they could to preserve the Union. It meant a good deal

to the loved ones left behind, for many never returned to the old village, with its straggling Main street and broad common. Others came back, and perhaps have remained in the sleepy old place ever since, while yet others have won distinction and renown, not only on the Nation's battle-fields, but in peaceful pursuits.

Those who knew McKinley little thought that in time the military career of the boyish private, which ended at twenty-two, would be a theme for the eloquence of a great general, and one who had in his day been President of the United States. It is proposed that General Rutherford B. Hayes shall write this chapter on the youthful soldier. In the following words he has done it, with so much skill and tact, and in such charming language, that it would be folly to go over the ground where one so fully equipped has recounted the principal features of McKinley's military career. Here, then, is the story of the youthful soldier:

"Rather more than thirty years ago I first made the acquaintance of Major McKinley. He was then a boy, had just passed the age of seventeen. He had before that taught school, and was coming from an academy to the camp. He with me entered upon a new, strange life—a soldier's life—in the time of actual war. We were in a fortunate regiment—its Colonel was William S. Rosecrans—a graduate of West Point, a brave, a patriotic and a very able man, who afterwards came to command great armies and fight many famous battles. Its Lieutenant-

Colonel was Stanley Matthews—a scholar and able lawyer, who, after his appointment to the Supreme Bench, the whole bar of the United States was soon convinced, was of unsurpassed ability and character for that high place.

"In this regiment Major McKinley came, the boy I have described, carrying his musket and his knapsack. In every company of that regiment General Rosecrans and Colonel Matthews and myself soon found there were young men of exceptional character and promise. I need not go into any detail of the military history of this young man I have described. At once it was found he had unusual character for the mere business of war. There is a quartermaster's department, which is a very necessary and important department in every regiment, in every brigade, in every division, in every army.

"Young as he was, we soon found that in business, in executive ability, young McKinley was a man of rare capacity, of unusual and unsurpassed capacity, especially for a boy of his age. When battles were fought or service was to be performed in warlike things, he always took his place. The night was never too dark; the weather was never too cold; there was no sleet, or storm, or hail, or snow, or rain that was in the way of his prompt and efficient performance of every duty.

"When I became commander of the regiment, he soon came to be upon my staff, and he remained upon my staff for one or two years, so that I did

literally and in fact know him like a book and loved him like a brother.

"From that time he naturally progressed, for his talents and capacity could not be unknown to the staff of the commander of the Army of West Virginia, George Crook, a favorite of the army he commanded. He wanted McKinley, and of course it was my duty to tell McKinley he must leave me. The bloodiest day of the war, the day on which more men were killed or wounded than on any other day of the war—observe I don't say than any other battle, stretching over many days, but any one day—was the seventeenth of September, 1862, in the battle of Antietam.

"That battle began at daylight. Before daylight men were in the ranks and preparing for it. Without breakfast, without coffee, they went into the fight, and it continued until after the sun had set. Early in the afternoon, naturally enough, with the exertion required of the men, they were famished and thirsty, and to some extent broken in spirit. The commissary department of that brigade was under Sergeant McKinley's administration and personal supervision. From his hands every man in the regiment was served with hot coffee and warm meats, a thing that had never occurred under similar circumstances in any other army in the world. He passed under fire and delivered, with his own hands, these things, so essential for the men for whom he was laboring.

"Coming to Ohio and recovering from wounds, I

SPARROW HOUSE, POLAND, OHIO, WHERE M'KINLEY ENLISTED IN 1861.

called upon Governor Tod and told him this incident. With the emphasis that distinguished that great war Governor, he said, 'Let McKinley be promoted from Sergeant to Lieutenant,' and that I might not forget, he requested me to put it upon the roster of the regiment, which I did, and McKinley was promoted. As was the case, perhaps, with very many soldiers, I did not keep a diary regularly from day to day, but I kept notes of what was transpiring. When I knew that I was to come here, it occurred to me to open the old note-book of that period and see what it contained, and I found this entry:

"'Saturday, 13th December, 1862.—Our new Second Lieutenant, McKinley, returned to-day—an exceedingly bright, intelligent and gentlemanly young officer. He promises to be one of the best.'

"He has kept the promise in every sense of the word."

Can anything be more to the point than the above, and would it be possible for any words to describe more dramatically the first two years of McKinley's military career than these loving words of his old commander. These remarks were made July 30, 1891. McKinley had received his first nomination for Governor, and was asked to address a religious non-partisan gathering at Lakeside, Ohio. He was introduced by ex-President Hayes, who made the speech as above reported.

There has always existed a warm feeling, amounting to affection, between Governor McKinley and his associates. The Governor has time and again mani-

fested this esteem on his part. One of the first things he did when he entered the Governor's office was to have taken from the rotunda of the Capitol and put into the executive room the oil portrait of Governor Tod. It was Governor Tod who had signed the commission of the youthful soldier. General Botsford of Youngstown was the quartermaster of Major McKinley's regiment, and when McKinley was elected Governor, he appointed General Botsford on his military staff as quartermaster-general. General Rosecrans was McKinley's old commander, and the Governor did not forget to pay him a glowing tribute at the dedication of Ohio's monuments on the battlefield of Chickamauga.

While Hayes was President, Congressman McKinley was a close friend and a frequent visitor at the White House, and nobody was prouder of the success of McKinley than Rutherford B. Hayes.

CHAPTER IV.

THE TWENTY-THIRD OHIO.

Composed of a Superior Class of Men—Rosecrans, Scammon, Matthews, Hayes, Comly, Hastings, McKinley —The First Three-Year Ohio Regiment — Official Records—Number of Men in the Regiment from First to Last—The Battles in which the Twenty-third Took Part — McKinley's Official Record — Hardships.

WILLIAM HENRY SMITH, in his forthcoming life of President Hayes, has kindly placed at the disposal of the writer the paragraph in his work referring to the Twenty-third Ohio and McKinley. "The Twenty-third Ohio," says Mr. Smith, "was made up of a superior class of men—men whose families were largely of New England origin. It contained within its ranks those who could fill the most difficult stations in a complex social organization. They were soldiers who endured hardships with patience and good humor; who fought stubbornly and fearlessly, but intelligently, and, of course, effectively."

After referring to the field officers who won distinction—to Rosecrans, Scammon, Matthews, Hayes, Comly and Hastings—the author calls attention to "the remarkable career of one of the very youngest

members of the regiment, who enlisted as a private before he had attained his eighteenth year. William McKinley, Jr., won promotion on his merit as a soldier, and not by family or political influence, first to commissary sergeant, then to second lieutenant for gallantry in action at the battle of Antietam on the recommendation of his colonel, and so on step by step until, at the close of the war, he was promoted to major by brevet. Soon after his appointment as second lieutenant, he was detailed on the staff of Colonel Hayes, in 1862, and his subsequent service was as a staff officer with Generals Hayes, Crook, Sheridan and Hancock.

"His success on merit during the War of the Rebellion has had its counterpart in civil life in the public service. When some one remarked in the presence of General Hayes that Major McKinley possessed many brilliant qualities as a public man; that he was skillful in debate, and tactful as a leader, but was lacking in business ability, he received this reply: 'A man who, before he had attained the age of twenty-one, kept up the supplies for the army of General Crook in active service in the field, is not lacking in business ability. He has capacity equal to any enterprise, for any position in life, even the highest.' "

The first Ohio regiment to enlist in the three years' service in 1861 was the Twenty-third Ohio Volunteer Infantry. Twenty-two regiments had preceded it, but they were enlisted only for three months, though a majority of those who saw their three months' service in these twenty-two early regiments after-

W. S. Rosecrans

wards re-enlisted for the longer period. The Twenty-third was enrolled for the three months' service, but when it presented itself for State inspection at Camp Chase, in Columbus, the three months' quota for Ohio was more than filled. However, at that time, the call for three years' men was issued, and the Twenty-third obtained the first chance to be mustered in under that call. Nearly all who had signed for three months attached their names to the rolls for the three years' campaign, while the few who could not for various reasons returned to their homes.

The Twenty-third regiment was officered by three men whose after prominence made this command one of the most noted in the war. The first colonel was W. S. Rosecrans, afterwards General Rosecrans, a captain whose renown is now world wide, and whose services later in the War of the Rebellion were important in its suppression. The first lieutenant-colonel was Stanley Matthews, afterwards Senator from Ohio and a Justice of the Supreme Court of the United States. The first major was Rutherford B. Hayes, afterwards a general of great ability, thrice Governor of Ohio, and President of the United States.

Not only was the regiment noted for its first three line officers, but many of the men who served in its ranks rose to positions of more or less note in after life. The second adjutant was Cyrus W. Fisher, afterwards major of the Twenty-third, then colonel of the Fifty-first. He is still living, being a resident of Bucyrus, Ohio. Grotius B. Giddings, son of Senator Joshua R. Giddings, enlisted as captain

of Company B, and soon after got an appointment in the regular army, the Fourteenth United States Infantry. Selick B. Warren, captain of Company I, died three years ago at Emporia, Kansas, where he had grown wealthy as a business man and banker. Robert P. Kennedy was a second and first lieutenant of Company F, afterwards captain of the same company, and then he was made assistant adjutant general on General Crook's staff; he was afterwards lieutenant governer of Ohio, and he was one of the most famous lieutenant governors in the country at the time. E. A. Abbott, the present director of police of the city of Cleveland, was captain of Company F at the time of muster-out. Wm. C. Lyon was first lieutenant of Company C, and was afterwards lieutenant governor of Ohio. Harrison G. Otis was captain of Company H. He is an editor in Los Angeles, where he attained some notoriety as being the author of the so-called Murchison letter, whose writing caused the recall of a British minister.

McKinley's technical connection with the regiment is given in detail further on. The official records, transcribed by Quartermaster Benjamin Killam of Cleveland, show that from first to last there were 2,095 men in the Twenty-third; the number killed in battle was 169, and the number who died from decease in consequence of service was 107, making a total loss of 276. At the organization of the regiment there were 953 men upon the rolls, and at the time of the muster-out there were 747, and of the total 2,095 there are 500 still living in various parts

STANLEY MATTHEWS.

of the country, whose addresses are carried upon the Regimental Association's books by Mr. Killam.

The battles in which the Twenty-third engaged, according to the official Ohio roster, were as follows:

Carnifex Ferry, Sept. 10, 1861; Clarke's Hollow, May 1, 1862; Princeton, W. Va., May 15, 1862; South Mountain, Md., Sept. 14, 1862; Antietam, Sept. 17, 1862; Buffington's Island, Ohio, in Morgan's raid, July 19, 1863; Cloyd's Mountain, Va., May 9, 1864; New River Bridge, Va., May 10, 1864; Buffalo Gap, W. Va., June 6, 1864; Lexington, W. Va., June 10, 1864; Buchanan, W. Va., June 14, 1864; Otter Creek, Va., June 16, 1864; Buford's Gap, Va., July 21, 1864; Winchester, Va., July 24, 1864; Berryville, Va., Sept. 3, 1864; Opequan, Va., Sept. 19, 1864; Fisher's Hill, Va., Sept. 22, 1864; Cedar Creek, Va., Oct. 19, 1864.

The official records indicate that McKinley's military life and advancement were most creditable. They show that William McKinley, Jr., enlisted as a private in Company E of the 23rd O. V. I., June 11, 1861; that he was promoted to commissary sergeant, April 15, 1862; that he was promoted to second lieutenant of Company D, September 23, 1862; that he was promoted to first lieutenant of Company E, Feb. 7, 1863; that he was promoted to captain of Company G, July 25, 1864; that he was detailed as acting assistant adjutant general of the first division, first army corps, on the staff of General Carroll; that he was brevetted major, March 13,

1865; and that he was mustered out of service July 26, 1865.

The men who composed the Twenty-third Ohio were soon launched into active service. The scene described at Poland in June was followed in September by serious business. Before leaving for the field, Colonel Rosecrans received a commission as Brigadier General, and Colonel E. P. Scammon succeeded in command of the Twenty-third. By the end of July the regiment was ordered to Clarksburg, West Virginia. "From this point," says Whitelaw Reed in his 'Ohio in the War,' "it operated against the numerous guerrillas infesting the country in that quarter, performing many days and nights of excessively hard duty, marching and counter-marching over the rugged spurs of Rich Mountain range, and drenched by the almost continued rains of that season.

"Thus we find the boys who had left their peaceful occupations and happy homes but a few months previous, suddenly plunged into an actual service that put to severe test both their fighting qualities and powers of endurance."

CHAPTER V.

ACTIVE SERVICE.

Ordered to West Virginia—Fighting at Carnifex Ferry —A Foretaste of Real Fighting—Sickness in Camp —Almost Starved—McKinley's First Glimpse of Washington—Battles of South Mountain and Antietam—Battle of Cedar Creek—Sheridan—McKinley's First Vote—Homeward Bound.

AND now our young soldier saw some active service. The thought of the havelocks which the pretty girls of Poland had made to keep off the scorching Southern sun when they were playing soldier on the old village common, must have caused many a grim smile when encountering the cold rains and driving snowstorms of the West Virginia mountains. The Twenty-third Ohio was, as we have seen, introduced to real fighting at Carnifex Ferry early in September, about six weeks after it had left camp. This proved little more than a foretaste, however, because the enemy in the night abandoned his position and the sharp skirmishing of the previous day ended. Then the boys had an opportunity to chase rebels, which they did with no small degree of success and captured many prisoners. The heavy rains of those mountain regions impeded their progress in reaching Camp Ewing on the New river.

Here another new experience awaited them. The camp was unhealthful and the wet and exposure to cold caused much sickness. Fever, diarrhea and other complaints became common, and some of the strongest and healthiest of the brave fellows who left Camp Chase died, while others were permanently injured. With the exception of a little enterprise into North Carolina in December, in which two companies of the Twenty-third took part, the winter was devoted to recruiting and much needed drilling and discipline.

The spring of 1862 brought with it hope for active work. The Twenty-third left winter quarters and under command of Lieutenant-colonel Hayes, moved in the direction of Princeton. The rebels immediately evacuated Princeton, burning everything before leaving. May 1 the Union troops arrived and took possession of the deserted place. Here they were attacked by an overwhelming force, and after a brave stand driven back, but in good order and fighting as they retired. The hardships they endured during the first three weeks in May were great. The enemy had cut off supplies, and some of our boys almost starved. These experiences were, however, only preparatory to the two great events of the year, South Mountain and Antietam.

The command remained at Flat Top, after leaving Princeton, through the early summer. The hard experience was a rapid march, which took place August, 1862. The regiment had been ordered from Flat Top to Green Meadows, and from that point

orders came to march with all possible speed to Camp Piatt, on the Great Kanawha. Here the Twenty-third arrived on August 18, after a march of one hundred and four miles in a little over three days. It was undoubtedly one of the fastest marches ever made by any considerable body of men. That it was made under a burning August sun speaks well for the endurance of the Twenty-third Ohio.

A few days later many of the boys had their first glimpse of Washington. That the youth we are interested in on that occasion looked forward to the day when he should take a prominent part in National legislation, or even had ambitions to fill the chair then occupied by Abraham Lincoln, is hardly probable. He occupied a very humble part, but, as his old commander has told us, he performed that part conscientiously and well. It was during this visit to Washington that the photograph reproduced especially for this biography was taken. There was little time to enjoy the Nation's Capitol, for in a few days the regiment was again on the march, this time with General McClellan's army, toward Frederick City, from which place they dislodgeb the Rebels. By September 13 they were at Middletown. Here was commenced the battle of South Mountain, culminating in the great battle of Antietam, on September 17, in both of which the Twenty-third Ohio participated. It was at Antietam that McKinley first won substantial recognition, and for gallant conduct upon that bloody battle-field he was made a second lieutenant.

Of the part the Twenty-third Ohio took in the battles of South Mountain and Antietam, Reid's History of "Ohio in the War" says:

At South Mountain the regiment under Lieutenant-colonel Hayes (General J. D. Cox commanding division) was the first infantry engaged, being the advance of the column on that day. It was ordered at an early hour to advance by an unfrequented road leading up the mountain, and to attack the enemy. Posted behind stone walls, the enemy, in great superior force, poured a destructive fire of musketry, grape and canister into our ranks at very short range, and in a very short space of time Lieutenant-colonel Hayes, Captain Skiles and Lieutenants Hood, Ritter and Smith were each badly wounded (Colonel Hayes's arm broken; Captain Skiles shot through the elbow, arm amputated; Ritter leg amputated); and over one hundred dead and wounded lay upon the field, out of the three hundred and fifty who went into the action. The command now devolved upon Major Comly, and remained with him from that time forward. The enemy suddenly opened fire from the left, and the regiment changed front on first company. Lieutenant-colonel Hayes soon after again made his appearance on the field, with his arm half dressed, and fought, against the remonstrances of the whole command, until carried off. Soon after the remainder of the brigade came up, a gallant charge was made up the hill, and the enemy was dislodged and driven into the woods beyond. In this charge a large number of the enemy were killed with the bayonet. During the remainder of the day the regiment fought with its division. Three bayonet charges were made by the regiment during the

PHILIP H. SHERIDAN.

day, in each of which the enemy were driven with heavy loss.

During the day the Twenty-third lost nearly two hundred, of whom almost one-fourth were killed on the field or afterward died of their wounds. Only seven men were unaccounted for at the roll-call after the action. The colors of the regiment were riddled, and the blue field almost completely carried away by shells and bullets.

At Antietam the regiment fought with the Kanawha division. Near the close of the day a disastrous charge was made by the division (the Twenty-third occupying the right of the First Brigade) by which the left of the division was exposed to a large force of the enemy, who suddenly emerged from a corn-field in rear of the left. The colors of the regiment were instantly shot down. At the same time a feint was made in front. A battery in the rear opened fire on the advancing column of the enemy, by which also the National forces sustained more loss than the enemy. After a moment's delay the colors were planted by Major Comly on a new line, at right angles with the former front, and, without waiting for any further order, the regiment, at a run, formed a line in the new direction and opened fire on the enemy, who for some cause retired. Little damage was done by the enemy, except a few captures from the left. The division soon after withdrew; but, through some inadvertency, no order reached the Twenty-third, and it remained on the field until Colonel Scammon (commanding the division) came back and ordered it to the rear.

Almost exhausted by several days' hard fighting, the regiment was ordered to support a battery of General Sturgis's division during the night, and was not relieved until after the afternoon of the next day.

Back to the mountains of West Virginia went the Twenty-third Ohio, after these bloody experiences in Maryland. Back over very much the same ground again. Before embarking they had been ordered to make for Pennsylvania "double quick." It was on this trip that they in one day ate breakfast in Pennsylvania, dinner in Maryland and supper in Virginia. In November we find the Twenty-third, now commanded by Lieutenant-colonel Hayes, in winter quarters at the falls of the Great Kanawha. It had marched about six hundred miles that year, and seen active and hard service. From November, 1862, to July, 1863, the Twenty-third lay in camp performing little or no duty, with the exception of a few scouts and an advance as far as Raleigh, Virginia, and its participation in the movements against the Morgan raid in July. After this raid the regiment again returned to Charleston, Virginia, and lay there during the remainder of 1863 up to April, 1864, when a movement was made to a point a few miles above Brownstown, on the Kanawha, preparatory to joining forces gathering under General Crook for a raid on the Virginia and Tennessee Railroad. Mr. Reid, in his history, says: "This expedition was something worthy of their mettle. Their long inaction had not hardened their sinews or made them impervious to fatigue, but, as was their custom, the rank and file of the Twenty-third entered into the expedition with cheerfulness and a determination, if possible, to make it signally successful. Without detailing their daily marches, it is sufficient to say that

the regiment toiled on over the rugged mountains, up ravines, and through the dense woods, meeting with snows and rains in sufficient volumes to appall the stoutest hearts; but they toiled patiently, occasionally brushing the enemy out of the way until, on the ninth of May, 1864, the battle of Cloyd Mountain was fought."

Here is a spirited description of this battle in which the boys of the Twenty-third Ohio acted nobly:

In this engagement the Twenty-third was on the right of the First Brigade. About noon they were ordered to charge the enemy, who occupied the first crest of the mountain, with artillery and infantry, behind rudely constructed breast-works. The hill itself was thickly wooded, steep and difficult of ascent, and was skirted by a stream of water from two to three feet deep. The approach was through a beautiful meadow five or six hundred yards in width. At the word of command, the regiment advanced at double-quick across the meadow, under a very heavy fire of musketry and artillery, to the foot of the mountain across the stream. The regiment advanced steadily to this point without returning the fire of the enemy; and after a short pause, a furious assault was made upon the enemy's works, carrying them and capturing two pieces of artillery, which were brought off the field by Lieutenant Austin. The enemy fell back to the second crest or ridge of the mountain, where a determined attempt was made to form a line, but, after a short struggle, he was driven from there in full retreat. Reinforcements arriving on the field, a third attempt was made to make a stand, but unsuccessfully. The struggle at the guns was of the fiercest description. The

Rebel artillerymen attempted to reload their pieces when our line was not more than ten paces distant. Private Kosht, Company G, a recruit eighteen years of age, was the first to reach the guns. With a boyish shout he sprang from the ranks, and hung his hat over the muzzle of one of the guns.

While 1863 was not a very active year for the Twenty-third Ohio, 1864 brought with it much activity and several important engagements. On May 10 there was another affair at New Bridge, in which artillery was mostly used. The enemy was driven and the bridge destroyed. On May 11 the march was continued to Blacksburg, skirmishing by the way. On May 12 Salt Pond mountain was crossed, the Twenty-third acting as train guard. In describing this incident, Mr. Reid in his history says:

The constant rains for several days had put the road in wretched condition. Most of the way it was only wide enough for only one team to pass at a time. The animals were much fagged by heavy work and insufficient forage, and many of them dropped deadi n the harness, so that loads had to be shifted and a number of wagons abandoned and burned. To add to the confusion, a large number of "contrabands," who had joined the column with all sorts of conveyances, and a great many with no conveyance at all, began to lose horses and wagons, which clogged the road, and many of the poor wretches had to walk through the mud and rain, carrying children and supplies, and whatever household goods they were unwilling to leave.

It is hardly surprising, therefore, that on the morning of May 13 the Twenty-third reached camp at twenty minutes past five, greatly exhausted by the fatigues of the crossing. However, one hour's rest seems to have been sufficient, and the march was resumed and prosecuted day by day, "the troops almost constantly harassed by the enemy, encountering great obstacles in swollen streams, rocky, muddy roads, and semi-starvation."

After this experience the Twenty-third, early in June, joined General Hunter's command. They were at Lexington when, by order of General Hunter, the Military Academy, Washington College and Governor Letcher's residence were burned. They then marched on to Lynchburg, and on the road met the enemy and "drove them pell-mell for two miles, capturing four pieces of their artillery."

After this success, instead of pushing on to Lynchburg, they were ordered into camp. A few days after this while attacking Lynchburg, they were repulsed by the enemy, who had been heavily re-enforced from Richmond, and obliged to retreat, marching rapidly toward the town of Liberty. According to Reid, "the fighting was all done in a dense thicket, where the light of the sun could not be seen. The men had had no sleep for two days and nights, and scarcely anything to eat. In this condition they marched, falling down frequently asleep in the road, it being with the utmost difficulty that they could be kept on their feet. About 10 A. M. the

regiment rested an hour and twenty minutes, and then pushed on without any more halts."

The following is an interesting description of this expedition, from the diary of one of the officers:

June 19.—Marched all day, dragging along very slowly. The men had nothing to eat, the trains being sent in advance. It is almost incredible that men should have been able to endure so much, but they never faltered, and not a murmur escaped them. Often men would drop out silently, exhausted, but not a word of complaint was spoken. Shortly after dark, at Liberty, had a brisk little fight with the enemy's advance; reached Buford's Gap about 10 A. M. of the twentieth. General Crook remained here with Hayes' brigade, holding the gap until dark, inviting an attack. The army was, however, too cautious to do more than skirmish. After dark we withdrew, and marched all night to overtake the command in advance. Reached Salem about 9 A. M. Hunter had passed through Salem, and a body of the enemy's cavalry fell upon his train and captured the greater part of his artillery. About the same time Crook was attacked in front and rear, and after a sharp fight pushed through, losing nothing. Heavy skirmishing all day, and nothing to eat and no sleep. Continued the march until about 10 P. M., when we reached the foot of North Mountain, and slept.

At four A. M. next morning (22d) left in the advance, the first time since the retreat commenced. By a mistake a march of eight miles was made for nothing. Thus we toiled on, suffering intensely with exhaustion, want of food, clothing, etc. On the 27th a supply train was met on Big Sewell Mountain. Men all crazy. Stopped and ate; marched and ate; camped about dark, *and ate*

all night. Marched one hundred and eighty miles in the last nine days, fighting nearly all the time, and with very little to eat.

In July came the battle of Kernstown, near Winchester, described in a subsequent chapter, and in which McKinley became conspicuous. Another important engagement of the Twenty-third was the battle of Opequan, which is referred to also in another chapter, in which McKinley received special attention, on account of his quick action and good judgment. This instance is mentioned further along, but we quote the account as printed in "Ohio in the War:"

After the usual amount of marching and countermarching, from the 4th to the 18th of September, the battle of Opequan was fought on the 19th. General Crook's command was in reserve, but was very soon brought into action and sent to the extreme right of the line to make a flank attack. Hayes's brigade had the extreme right of the infantry. The position was reached under cover of an almost impenetrable growth of cedar, crossing a swampy stream. Here the division was halted and formed—First Brigade (Hayes's) in front and the Second (Johnson's) in rear. Throwing out a light line of skirmishers, the brigade advanced rapidly to the front, driving the enemy's cavalry. The National cavalry at the same time advanced out of the woods on the right. After advancing in this way across two or three fields, under a scattering fire, the crest of a slight elevation was reached, when the enemy's infantry line came into view, off diagonally to the left front, and he opened a brisk artillery fire.

Moving forward double-quick under this fire, the brigade reached a thick fringe of underbrush, dashing through which it came upon a deep slough, forty or fifty yards wide and nearly waist deep, with soft mud at the bottom, overgrown with a thick bed of moss, nearly strong enough to bear the weight of a man. It seemed impossible to get through it, and the whole line was staggered for a moment. Just then Colonel Hayes plunged in with his horse, and under a shower of bullets and shells with his horse sometimes down, he rode, waded and dragged his way through—the first man over. The Twenty-third was immediately ordered by the right flank over the slough at the same place. In floundering through this morass, men were suffocated and drowned, and still the regiment plunged through, and, after a pause long enough to partially reform the line, charged forward again, yelling and driving the enemy. Sheridan's old cavalry kept close up on the right, having passed round the slough, and every time the enemy was driven from cover charged and captured a large number of prisoners. This plan was followed throughout the battle, by which the cavalry was rendered very effective. In one of these charges Colonel Duval, the division commander, was wounded and carried from the field, leaving Colonel Hayes in command. He was everywhere exposing himself recklessly as usual. He was first over the slough; he was in advance of the line half of the time afterward; his adjutant-general was severely wounded; men were dropping all around him, but he rode through it all as if he had a charmed life.

No re-enforcements—no demonstration as promised. Something must be done to stop the murderous concentrated fire that is cutting the force so dreadfully. Select-

ing some Saxony rifles in the Twenty-third, pieces of seventy-one caliber with a range of twelve hundred yards, Lieutenant McBride was ordered forward with them to kill the enemy's artillery horses, in plain sight. They moved forward rapidly under cover as much as possible. At the first shot a horse drops; almost immediately another is killed; a panic seems to seize the artillery and they commence limbering up. The infantry take the alarm, and a few commence running from the entrenchments. The whole line rises, and with a tremendous yell the men rush frantically for the breastworks; and thus, without stopping to fire another shot, the enemy ran in confusion—that terrible cavalry, which had been hovering like a cloud on the flanks, sweeping down on the rebels and capturing them by regiments. Eight battle-flags were captured and a large number of prisoners. The "graybacks" soon looked as numerous as the "blue coats." The enemy's artillery in the Star fort was obliged to stop firing and fell back, and the battle was at an end.

It is impossible to recount here all the engagements in which the gallant Twenty-third took part. The principal ones are given for the purpose of showing the part that McKinley took in the War of the Rebellion. The service was active, the hardships he endured great, and throughout all this experience he showed personal courage, ability and first-class fighting qualities. What President Hayes says of him in a preceding chapter is undoubtedly true. It should be borne in mind that he went into the army as a youth and came out of it, after undergoing these experiences, at twenty-two. When we

realize this, it will be impossible to expect any more of him. That he should have won encomiums from all his superior officers, stamps his record as a remarkable one for one so young. The last engagement of National importance, which practically closed the active history of the Twenty-third Ohio, was the battle of Cedar Creek. While some further instances will appear in another chapter in relation to McKinley, it is the purpose here to give the following brief sketch of the situation after the attack was made:

Crook's command, overpowered and driven from their advance position, were forming on the left of the Nineteenth corps, which corps was just getting into action, the left being hotly engaged, but not so much so as Crook's command yet. The right of the line had not been engaged at all, and was not for some time after. While the line was in this situation the trains were all slowly moving off. A desperate stand was made by the shattered lines of Crook's command to save the headquarters train of the army, which came last from the right, and it succeeded. Many brave men lost their lives in this — Colonel Thoburn, commanding First division; Captain Bier, General Crook's adjutant-general, and others. Colonel Hayes, commanding the First division, had his horse shot under him, and narrowly escaped with his life. Lieutenant-general Hall, of the Thirteenth Virginia, was killed, but the train was saved.

From this time the whole line fell slowly back, fighting stubbornly, to a new position which had been selected. There they halted, and the enemy seemed content with shelling us.

General Crook lay a couple of yards away from the

line, in a place which seemed to be more particularly exposed than any other part of the line. Colonel Hayes lay close by, badly bruised from his fall, and grumbling because his troops did not charge the enemy's line, instead of waiting to be charged. Suddenly there is a dust in the rear, on the Winchester pike; and, almost before they are aware, a young man, in full Major-general's uniform, and riding furiously a magnificent black horse, literally "flecked with foam," reins up and springs off by General Crook's side. There is a perfect roar as everybody recognized—SHERIDAN! He talks with Crook a little while, cutting away at the tops of the weeds with his riding-whip. General Crook speaks a half-dozen sentences that sound a great deal like the crack of the whip; and by that time some of the staff are up. They are sent flying in different directions. Sheridan and Crook lie down and seem to be talking, and all is quiet again, except the vicious shells of the different batteries and the roar of artillery along the line. After a while Colonel Forsyth comes down the in front and shouts to the General: "The Nineteenth corps is closed up, sir." Sheridan jumps up, gives one more cut with his whip, whirles himself around once, jumps on his horse, and starts up the line. Just as he starts he says to the men: "*We are going to have a good thing on them now, boys!*" And so he rode off, and a long wave of yells rolling up to the right with him. The men took their posts, the line moved forward, and the balance of the day is a household word over a whole nation.

The war experience of the Twenty-third practically closed after this battle. In October we find the regiment at Martinsburg. On its march to that point the

men voted at the Presidential election. The votes were collected by the judges of election as the column was in march, from among the wagons. This, McKinley says, was his first vote. An ambulance was used as an election booth, and an empty candle box did duty as a ballot-box. At the same time and place Generals Sheridan, Crook and Hayes cast their ballots, and this was the first vote ever cast by Sheridan or Crook.

In the early spring the Twenty-third returned to Camp Cumberland, and on July 26, 1865, rather more than four years from the time of enlistment, the regiment was mustered out and the scarred veterans who had experienced four years of dangers and hardships, returned to the homes which they had left full of life, vigor and youthful hopefulness.

CHAPTER VI.

THE BATTLE AT KERNSTOWN.

Russell Hastings Describes a Lively Engagement Near Winchester—Forward to Almost Certain Death—McKinley Under the Enemy's Fire—Erect as a Hussar—A Brave and Youthful Soldier on a Wiry Little Brown Horse—How McKinley Carried Off the Guns.

THE history of the Twenty-third Ohio Volunteer Infantry shows that on July 24, 1864, a battle was fought at Kernstown, near Winchester, in which the National forces were defeated after a well-contested fight from early in the morning until nine o'clock at night. The Twenty-third Ohio lost in this engagement over one hundred and fifty men and officers. The present importance of this engagement is derived from the fact that it is possible to get a glimpse of young McKinley in an active engagement—a glimpse that comes to the writer of this volume from an old friend of twenty-five years ago, who now resides in the Bermudas. General Russell Hastings was also a near and dear friend of young McKinley's. They were intimately associated together in the same regiment on the same staff, and slept under the same blanket. General Hastings could tell many other incidents of those stirring days,

but time and space make it impossible to give them here, interesting as they would prove.

There are more than the ordinary obstacles in the way of securing data relating to the active war record of a staff officer. He simply carries orders in battle and performs his company duties. It is only when kind fate gives him an opportunity—say in battle—that he can and often does perform gallant acts. McKinley, of course, had his due share of such work, as he had the same courageous characteristics as a boy soldier that he now has as a leader of the people. The incident herein related comes via Bermuda, from General Hastings. It occurred at the battle of Kernstown in the Shenandoah Valley, and was a gallant thing for a staff officer to do. It is only one of the many similar incidents. The fact that one who was there has kindly consented to write it out especially for this work, makes it of interest as illustrating a day in the life of a staff officer during the war. The account of the battle of Kernstown, as contributed by General Russell Hastings, and of McKinley's part in it, is herewith given:

The Union forces were commanded by General George Crook.

The Confederate forces by General Jubal Early.

It is not pleasant work for one who participated in a defeat to recount those hours, yet no one can be better informed than he who saw each movement of the command. To lead up to this battle, I feel it necessary to begin at the time General Jubal Early was menacing Washington, twelve days before the

M'KINLEY AS FIRST LIEUTENANT TWENTY-THIRD O. V. I.
TAKEN AT GALLIPOLIS, OHIO, DECEMBER, 1862.

battle, when he had his whole army close up to the works north of the city on July 11 and 12. For two days he stood before our National Capital challenging the Union troops to combat. General Grant soon made such disposition of troops by sending from the Army of the Potomac, before Richmond, the Sixth and Nineteenth Army corps, as caused Early to leisurely retreat towards the Shenandoah Valley, by way of Poolesville, Maryland, Edward's Ferry on the Potomac, and Leesburg in Virginia, reaching Snicker's Gap in the Blue Ridge on the 17th and crossing the Shenandoah at Snicker's Ford, went into camp on the west bank.

The Sixth and Nineteenth corps as leisurely followed, and at or near Snicker's Gap united with one division of General Hunter's infantry (Thoburn's) which had just arrived from the Kanawha Valley over the Baltimore & Ohio Railway. On the afternoon of the 18th, Thoburn's division was ordered to cross Snicker's Ford and attack Early, but the Sixth corps, which was to support Thoburn, not coming into action, as expected, the latter was driven back through the stream with considerable loss.

On July 19, General Early retreated southward on the road toward Strasburg, safely carrying with him all the plunder he had gathered over Maryland and Pennsylvania, while the whole Union army, consisting of the Sixth and Nineteenth corps and Hunter's command, which had but lately arrived from the Kanawha Valley, was massed in the vicinity of Bevy-

ville and Winchester, quite a formidable army, some 20,000 strong.

At this time it was supposed by General Grant that General Lee had ordered Early with the main body of his veteran army to Richmond, and Grant, needing the Sixth and Nineteenth corps with him before Richmond, ordered them to Washington on their way. This left in the Valley to confront the Confederates only Hunter's command, consisting of the Eighth Infantry corps, commanded by General George Crook, some 6,000 in number, with a brigade of nondescript troops made up of dismounted cavalrymen and decimated infantry regiments. Such troops were naturally demoralizing to any command. In addition to this infantry was some cavalry under Generals Averill and Duffie, some 2,000 strong.

In this Eighth Infantry corps was a brigade commanded by General Rutherford B. Hayes, and it is of the part taken by this brigade in the battle of Kernstown that I propose to relate. The brigade was formed as follows:

First brigade, Second division, Eighth corps, General Rutherford B. Hayes commanding. Twenty-third Ohio Volunteer Infantry, Colonel J. M. Comly; Thirty-sixth Ohio Volunteer Infantry, Colonel A. I. Duval; Fifth West Virginia Infantry, Colonel E. H. Enochs; Thirteenth West Virginia Infantry, Colonel William Brown. The brigade staff was as follows: Colonel Joseph Webb, surgeon; Captain Russell Hastings, adjutant-general; Lieutenant William McKinley, Jr., quartermaster; Lieutenant B. A. Twiner,

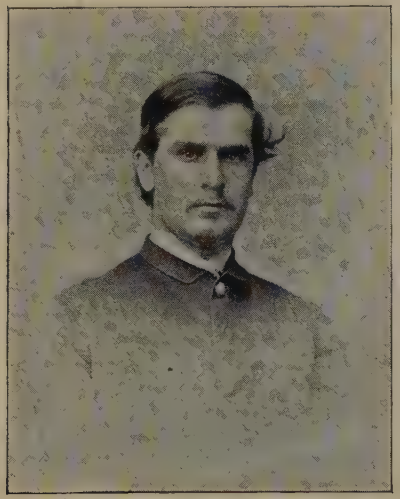
ordnance; Lieutenant A. W. Delay, commissary; Lieutenant O. J. Wood, aide.

General Crook's Eighth corps had just returned from a raid to Lynchburg, close to Appomattox, where General Lee surrendered his army in April, 1865, and were much fatigued and worn. We now felt, with Early and his veterans well off on their way to Richmond, with no enemy of any considerable force in our front, that we should have a few days of much needed rest. From April 30 up to this date we had made a raid to the New River Bridge in southwestern Virginia, another raid to Lynchburg, marching in these two raids over 800 miles, often out of food, short of clothing and shoes, were on the skirmish line daily, either advancing or retreating, and had fought four hard contested battles. Directly after the close of these raids we had been moved with inconsiderate haste from the Kanawha Valley, near the Kentucky line, to this Valley, by forced marches, on steamboats on the Ohio River and freight cars on the Baltimore & Ohio Railway, with no opportunity for sleep or rest. General Crook had now advanced his little army to Winchester, going into camp just south of town, where there is one of those noted springs of the Valley, gushing out from a crevice in the limestone rock, in sufficient quantities to furnish power for a large flouring mill. Here we rolled ourselves in our blankets, upon the luxuriant grass under the shade of large oak trees, and slept away the night and a large part of two delightful days.

On Sunday morning, July 24, our "resting spell" came to a sudden close. While at inspection on this bright, sunny Sunday morning, the sound of cannon, well out on our front towards the south, was heard. Usually such sounds did not worry us, as our cavalry was always "banging away" with the artillery attached to them. We did not, though, this morning like the sound of it, for to a veteran's ear the frequency of the discharges were such as seemed to mean work before us. Soon cavalry couriers came in from the front, bringing word to General Crook that our cavalry outposts on the Valley pike, some ten miles south of Winchester, were being driven in by seemingly a large force. General Crook, still relying on the former information that Early was well off on his way to Richmond, did not feel the necessity of immediately moving out and forming line of battle; but, as courier after courier arrived with the additional report of large bodies of the enemy's infantry being seen, he finally ordered all his troops to advance to the front and form line of battle at the little hamlet of Kernstown, some four miles south of Winchester.

This ground had already been made historic, as here General Shields met Stonewall Jackson, in 1862, and repulsed him.

At about noon Crook had formed all his available troops in line with his First division on the extreme right, extending to the Romney pike, with this nondescript brigade of dismounted cavalry and infantry next, and the Second division on the left, Hayes's



M'KINLEY IN 1865.

M'KINLEY IN 1876, WHEN HE WAS FIRST ELECTED TO CONGRESS.

brigade occupying the extreme left, extending east of the Valley pike, out into some open fields, where a view of the country could be had for a mile or more to our left. The Thirteenth West Virginia Infantry regiment of Hayes's brigade was posted in an orchard some five hundred yards to the rear and left to act as a reserve.

At this moment Crook discovered he had been deceived about Early's march for Richmond. On July 23, Early had halted at Strasburg, and there learning that the Sixth and Nineteenth corps had withdrawn toward Washington, and that the forces occupying Winchester were only those of Crook, about one-third his numbers, had determined to return and crush him without delay.

Several historians have made effort to show that General Early was hardly fitted for the position he occupied as commander of the Confederate forces in the valley. The Union army before him, on the contrary, found him always watchful, alert, ready to seize upon such an opportunity as now presented itself; a hard fighter, full of vim and subtle cunning, able to maneuver his troops in such a way as completely to deceive our commanders. Even after General Sheridan assumed command in the valley, with an army more than three times larger than General Crook had on this day, there was much marching and countermarching, much maneuvering for an advantage, before Sheridan thought it prudent to attack, but when he did attack he gave Early a crushing blow.

The battle opened with sharp firing all along the line, our artillery on rising ground at our rear firing over our heads, the enemy's artillery replying with their shells exploding amongst us. How could we hope to win a battle when so largely outnumbered? On the Union side was only Crook's little corps, some 6,000 strong, combating the whole of Early's army. The Confederate infantry line extended far beyond us on our left, and still beyond that could be seen Confederate cavalry covering the country for a mile or more, and rapidly driving back our cavalry in great confusion. Although our infantry could probably manage to keep back the Confederates in our front, this rapidly advancing line on our left, with nothing whatever to oppose them, would soon engulf us. At this moment this nondescript brigade broke in great confusion, leaving a sad gap in our center. Then, and not till then, and not until the enemy in our front was severely punished, did Hayes's brigade turn and fall back, with but trifling confusion, in the direction of Winchester, maintaining our organization then and throughout all the afternoon.

Now came hurrying times for staff officers, orders had to be carried in all directions. To one would be given orders to gallop rapidly to the rear and try to form a guard line to stop the stragglers; to another, to go to the rear and order the wagon train in full retreat towards Martinsburg; to another, go to that battery and order it rapidly to form and unlimber on that adjacent ridge, and play with rapidity upon the advancing enemy with shot and shell; to

another, direct the ambulance train down the pike, and so on until this class of officers became scarce. Crook was at one time without a staff officer about him, having already borrowed of Hayes several, and still he had need for more.

Just now it was discovered that one of the regiments was still in the orchard where posted at the beginning of the battle. General Hayes, turning to Lieutenant McKinley, directed him to go for and bring away this regiment, if it had not already fallen. McKinley turned his horse, and keenly spurring it, pushed it at a fierce gallop obliquely towards the advancing enemy. A sad look came over Hayes's face as he saw this young, gallant boy, pushing rapidly forward to almost certain death. McKinley was much loved in the command, a mere boy at the beginning of the war, who had left his college, his expectation for the future, all, everything, willingly to serve his country and his flag in their dire need. With wonderful force of character, then, true, pure, noble and brave, he had, by reason of his ability and wonderful power with men even much older than himself, risen from the ranks to become a noted staff officer, and later was called to the staff of General Crook, and so on up to General Hancock's headquarters, and for his many brave acts and conspicuous gallantry was by President Lincoln brevetted major.

Hayes loved him as a father loves a son, and only imagine what must have been his feelings when the necessities of the moment demanded that he should

order this boy to do this dangerous work. None of us expected to see him again, as we watched him push his horse through the open fields, over fences, through ditches, while a well-directed fire from the enemy was poured upon him, with shells exploding around, about and over him. Once he was completely enveloped in the smoke of an exploding shell, and we thought he had gone down; but no, he was saved for better work for his country in his future years. Out of this smoke emerged his wiry little brown horse, with McKinley still firmly seated, and as erect as a hussar. Now he had passed under cover from the enemy's fire, and a sense of relief came to us all. Thus far he was all right, but we knew his danger was really but just beginning, for the enemy was still coming on, though not with the fierce energy with which he had attacked the main line a few moments before, no doubt feeling the need of cautious approach, for Crook at this time had planted several batteries on the ridge near by, which then were doing effective work.

McKinley gave the Colonel the orders from Hayes to fall back, saying, in addition, "I supposed you would have gone to the rear without orders." The Colonel's reply was "I was about concluding I would retire without waiting any longer for orders. I am now ready to go wherever you shall lead, but, Lieutenant, I 'pintedly' believe I ought to give those fellows a volley or two before I go." McKinley's reply was, "Then up and at them as quickly as possible," and as the regiment arose to its feet the

enemy came on into full view. Colonel Brown's boys gave the enemy a crushing volley, following it up with a rattling fire, and then slowly retreated towards some woods directly in their rear. At this the enemy halted all along Brown's immediate front and for some distance to his right and left, no doubt feeling he was touching a secondary line, which should be approached with all due caution. During this hesitancy of the enemy, McKinley led the regiment through these woods on towards Winchester.

As Hayes and Crook saw this regiment safely off, they turned, and following the column, with it moved slowly to the rear, down the Winchester pike. At a point near Winchester, McKinley brought the regiment to the column and to its place in the brigade. McKinley was greeted by us all with a happy, contented smile—no effusion, no gushing palaver of words, though all of us felt and knew one of the most gallant acts of the war had been performed.

As McKinley drew up by the side of Hayes to make his verbal report, I heard Hayes say, "I never expected to see you in life again." During such scenes as these were our friendly ties knitted, and can you blame us if in our grizzled veteran age the tears will sometimes spring to the eye when we greet each other after a long separation?

The battle was over and now began a well organized retreat, so far as Hayes's brigade was concerned, with the enemy's infantry pushing us from the front and the cavalry harassing us on right and left. Our wagon train was well off towards Martinsburg, and

we knew our brigade could take care of itself, no matter how hard Early should push us. We had good, strong legs, plenty of ammunition, and we certainly could march just as rapidly as Early's infantry could follow; and as for the cavalry, no matter where they attacked, right, left or rear, we could with a few well directed volleys scatter them.

All this long, fateful afternoon we marched down the pike, first through Winchester town, where the faces of the inhabitants instantly informed us on which side of the cause were their sympathies. The jubilant faces largely outnumbered the sad ones. One dear, old Quaker lady, whom we all knew, stood at her gate as we passed. Tears were running down her cheeks and we knew they were caused by sympathy for our misfortunes. For her own safety, with her Confederate neighbors looking on, we dare not make any effusive display of our sorrow at her condition, but McKinley in his great kindness of heart, reigned his horse to the curbstone and in a low voice said, "Don't worry, my dear madam, we are not hurt as much as it seems, and we shall be back here again in a few days." A smile directly spread over her face, and her heart was made almost happy by these timely-spoken words.

During most of the afternoon we were marching in line of battle on the east side of the pike, occasionally, though, after we had given the pushing infantry of the enemy a reminder that there was still some pluck left in us, we would change the column to route march, and on the pike made good time to the rear.

After we were past Winchester the infantry annoyed us very little, but the cavalry harassed us more or less during the afternoon.

I will relate an incident of the afternoon, which occurred some eight miles north of Winchester, to show that valor did not reside alone on either side, that we were brethren of the same Anglo-Saxon lineage, of like characteristics, and the two armies, each in the other, found "a foe worthy of their steel." Some Confederate cavalry had, while we were marching to the rear in line of battle, formed column and charged down upon what had now become our right and front. On they came with the usual Confederate yell, and sabres drawn. This was a frightful sight to men who a few hours before had become somewhat demoralized by the onset at Kernstown, but not a thought of fear was seen upon the faces of the men; calvary to them was a mere pastime, and with a few well-directed volleys poured at the charging columns, and with many empty saddles, this cavalry broke and fled away in great confusion. Only the officer in command charging at the head of his troops did not flee, but continued right on, veering to his right; he kept at a respectful distance from us, riding the whole length of our line. We discovered that his horse was running away with him, and the only guiding power he had was exerted to prevent the horse from running into us. Very little firing was directed upon him during these moments, as every one watched with interest his efforts. Finally he stopped his horse and turning retraced his steps in

the direction where his troops were disappearing over a hill. This again carried him along the front of our line. An occasional shot was fired at him, but now the word passed along our line, "Don't shoot, he is too brave to kill," and instead a cheer broke forth to which he responded by taking off his hat and bowing in the most cavalierly style. He soon gained the crest of the hill, seemingly unhurt, halted a moment, and again saluting us, turned away and passed out of sight. After this incident we were not again disturbed by the cavalry. Perhaps a liking for us had sprung up in this officer's breast, and he felt he would no longer, at least for this day, quarrel with us. I have often hoped I might, during the peaceful days after the war, meet that officer and talk things over.

We now changed our column into route march and, walking along the pike, settled down to comparative peace, each man beginning to hunt in his haversack for a stray bit of hardtack which might happen to be there. Up to this time there had been but little opportunity to think of food. It was now nearly dark, and while plodding along, wondering where we would find the balance of the command and the wagon train, so we might go into camp, we discovered that some time during the afternoon there had been a stampede of our wagon train and several wagons had been abandoned and left on the pike. Quick investigation was made for food, but finding none, a jolly fire was kindled in each wagon, and they were soon reduced to ashes or so disabled they

would be wholly useless to the enemy. Further along the pike we found a battery of artillery, consisting of four guns with their caissons, which had been abandoned and left for peaceable capture by the enemy.

Here, again, McKinley showed his force of character and indomitable will power. He asked the privilege of carrying away these guns, thus saving them from the enemy. It did not, with the exhausted condition of our men, seem practicable, yet he insisted it could be done, and he thought his regiment, the Twenty-third, would gladly aid him. Hayes, with a smile, said, "Well, McKinley, ask them." Going first to his old company (E), he called for volunteers; all stepped out to a man and, the infection spreading, soon the whole regiment took hold of these guns and caissons and hauled them off in a triumphal procession. When we went into camp that night long after dark, this artillery captain was found, and the guns were turned over to him. He cried like a baby.

Now this fearful day was over, and in a drizzling rain, dinnerless and supperless, we wound ourselves in our blankets and slept soundly until morning.

Our losses were very heavy. Hayes's little brigade of 1,700 men alone lost one-fourth of its number in killed and wounded, and most of the wounded were left in the enemy's hands. The balance of the command lost in nearly the same proportion. The cause of the disaster was simply that we were outnumbered

three to one, and the surprise is that we were not all captured, as General Early anticipated.

Considerable effort was made at that time to impugn the bravery of Crook's Eighth corps in this disaster, but a noted and unbiased historian has said the following, which I quote with much pleasure:

> Crook's troops had campaigned too well at Cloyd's Mountain and during Hunter's march to Lynchburg to be disgraced by this encounter; and while some of them, chiefly the recent additions, had proved of little value, it must be remembered that whatever efforts had been made to challenge Early's retreat from Washington were the work of this command. Their defeat was not strange, for the force soon after assembled in the valley as needful to match Early was thrice Crook's at Kernstown.

CHAPTER VII.

WAR INCIDENTS.

The Young Commissary Sergeant at Antietam—Hot Coffee for the Men in Front—McKinley Wins His First Promotion—Incident of the Battle of Opequan—Captain McKinley Takes the Responsibility—Prompt to Act in an Emergency—How McKinley Became a Mason—Sheridan Refers to McKinley—The Famous Ride From Winchester.

McKINLEY was promoted to second lieutenant for gallant conduct at Antietam. As will be seen in a previous chapter, President Hayes referred to this incident, and he, as commander of the regiment, as well as the other officers, declared that the young soldier gave evidence of uncommon bravery.

General J. L. Botsford of Youngstown, who was present, has prepared the following interesting account of McKinley at Antietam, which is herewith given in full:

At the battle of Antietam, McKinley was the commissary sergeant of the Twenty-third Regiment O. V. I., and his duty was, of course, with the commissary supplies, which were at least two miles from the battle-field proper.

As you no doubt are aware, in all battles, whether large or small, there are numerous stragglers who

easily find their way back to where the commissary supplies are. This was the case at Antietam, and McKinley conceived and put into execution the idea of using some of these stragglers to make coffee and carry it to the boys in front. It was nearly dark when we heard tremendous cheering from the left of our regiment. As we had been having heavy fighting right up to this time, our division commander, General Scammon, sent me to find out the cause, which I very soon found to be cheers for McKinley and his hot coffee. You can readily imagine the rousing welcome he received from both officers and men.

When you consider the fact of his leaving his post of security, driving right into the middle of a bloody battle with a team of mules, it needs no words of mine to show the character and determination of McKinley, a boy at this time about twenty years of age. McKinley loaded up two wagons with supplies, but the mules of one wagon were disabled. He was ordered back time and again, but he pushed right on.

Sheridan's great battle at Opequan was fought near Winchester, Virginia, September 19, 1864.

Early in the morning the Sixth and Nineteenth corps went into action, the First and Second divisions of the Army of West Virginia (Eighth corps) being held in reserve.

About ten o'clock, Captain McKinley, aide-de-camp on the staff of General Sheridan, brought verbal order to General Duval, commanding the Sec-

ond division, to move his command quickly to position on the right of the Sixth corps, the First division having previously been ordered to that position.

General Duval, on receiving the order, and not knowing the topography of the country, asked the young aide:

"By what route shall I move my command?"

Captain McKinley knowing no more about the country than did Duval, and without definite orders as to the way to be taken, replied:

"I would move up this creek."

Duval then said:

"I will not budge without definite orders."

McKinley replied:

"This is a case of great emergency, General, I order you, by command of General Crook, to move your command up this ravine to a position on the right of the army."

General Duval obeyed, and moved on the route indicated by the aide-de-camp, and in a very short time had his division in position on the right, and gallantly charged the enemy in their fortified position, on their left flank, and drove them in confusion from their works, and by a movement which was made on the judgment and to him perilous discretion of Captain McKinley, who took the responsibility of giving the command.

Had he been mistaken, and the movement resulted disastrously, McKinley's career would probably have been cut short at twenty years of age.

As an evidence of McKinley's good judgment and heroic conduct on this occasion, General Harris, commanding the First division, and who received his order to move to the same point previously to that given to Duval, moved presumably at his own discretion, on another route, and got into a thick woods, and did not reach the objective point until a half hour after Duval had his division in position, but did some heroic fighting after he got there, all the same.

It is said that when Captain McKinley reported what he had done, the General said:

"That is all right, my boy, since the movement turned out successfully; but if it had resulted in disaster, it would have been all wrong."

The gentleman who gave the above account of the battle of Opequan to the writer said in regard to this interview: "This reported interview I do not know to be true, but as to the interview between Duval and McKinley I know it to be a fact, as I was an eye and ear witness to that, and the results following."

McKinley is a Knight Templar, a Knight of Pythias, and is also a Greek Fraternity man. His entrance into Masonry was an incident of the war and rather unique. McKinley was going through a hospital with one of the regimental surgeons. He noticed that the surgeon and some of the Confederate wounded were very friendly to each other, and in several instances the surgeon gave money to the prisoners. There was an unmistakable bond of sympathy between them. Young McKinley asked the surgeon if he knew these prisoners. The surgeon

told him they were brother Masons. Young McKinley was so much impressed by the friendly feeling existing between Confederate and Union Masons, that he expressed the desire to join the Order. He was made a Mason in Hiram lodge, Winchester, Va., May 1, 1865, receiving his degree at the hands of a Confederate Master of the lodge. After he established himself in Canton, he took some higher degrees, but he had not a little difficulty in getting the record of his initiation from the Winchester lodge. That record is as follows:

William McKinley, Poland, Ohio; entered May 1, passed May 2, raised May 3.

The only living witnesses of the initiation of McKinley into the mysteries of Masonry are Worshipful Master J. B. T. Reed and George E. Jenkins, S. D.

Sheridan in his memoirs alludes to the fact that he met McKinley on the day of his famous ride from Winchester. Sheridan says: "At Newton I was obliged to make a circuit to the left, to get round the village. I could not pass through it, the streets were so crowded, but meeting on this detour McKinley of Crook's staff, he spread the news of my return through the motley throng there."

McKinley had just returned from planting the battery of Colonel H. A. Dupont (the present United States Senator-elect from Delaware) of the Fifth United States Artillery—part of General Crook's corps. McKinley had planted the battery by direction of General Crook. Returning from the perform-

ance of this duty, he met Sheridan very much in the condition as described in Reid's poem.

McKinley immediately took Sheridan to Crook's position behind a stone wall, where Crook's troops had been halted, determined to retreat no further. Sheridan held a hurried consultation with Crook, and they retired to a red barn in the rear for further consultation. Sheridan quickly determined to make an attack and a charge. After he had returned to the line, somebody suggested that he take off his great coat and ride down the line. McKinley was one of those who helped to take off Sheridan's great coat. When the overcoat was removed, it was seen that Sheridan had a brand new uniform which he had just got from Washington. His epaulets were handed to him. McKinley has frequently been heard to say that Sheridan never looked more like a soldier than he did then. Sheridan rode down the line amid the huzzas of the troops.

JUDGE CHARLES E. GLIDDEN, WITH WHOM M'KINLEY STUDIED LAW AT POLAND, OHIO.

CHAPTER VIII.

RETURNS TO CIVIL LIFE.

McKinley Studies Law With Judge Charles E. Glidden—Renews His Friendships in Poland—President of the Everett Literary Club—The Albany Law School—Admitted to the Bar and Settles at Canton—Elected District Attorney of Stark County, 1869—Becomes Active in Politics—Elected to Congress in 1876.

McKINLEY, after his military career, returned to Ohio, and entered civil life at the age of twenty-two. It was claimed by some that his four years of service had given him a taste for army life, and that but for his father's opposition he might have entered the regular army, as General Carroll desired him to do. On the other hand, those who knew him best in the army declare that he was always a candidate for literary and economic study. It is even said that when the army was in winter quarters, debating societies were organized and that McKinley took part in these debates. However this may be, on his return to Poland, McKinley decided to choose civil life and began the study of law with Judge Charles E. Glidden of Mahoning county, and, as has been said, took a course at the Albany, New York, Law School, and in 1867 was admitted to the bar. Financially, he was in no better condition to take up

his studies on his return from the army than he was before he enlisted. That money was made by men who had filled the position of quartermaster to their regiment is undoubtedly true, but the early teachings of rectitude had inculcated principles of honor and honesty that were never shaken by any temptation, though it must have come to him at an age when character is in its formative condition.

In talking of this side of McKinley's character, an old friend of his said to the writer: "I vividly recall being with McKinley, by his request, at Cumberland, Maryland, to settle up his accounts. He was then on General Crook's staff. At a time preceding this incident, when quartermaster for his regiment at Salt Pond Mountain, after the retreat from Lynchburg, Virginia, they were obliged to destroy much of Uncle Sam's property in store to keep it from falling into the hands of the Rebels. General Hunter was in command. In this quiet and confidential talk with McKinley, I shall always remember just how he said: '————' (calling me by my Christian name), 'this is where the quartermasters make their money, but I don't want a dollar of Uncle Sam's that doesn't belong to me.' "

The accounts were faithfully and honestly returned, and so they were, undoubtedly, in a majority of cases, for our country was rich then, as it is to-day, should occasion require it, in men of honor and integrity. Such possessions are surely worth something more than dollars and cents.

Though McKinley came home no better able finan-

cially to secure the education he was striving to obtain than he was before he went to the war, he had gathered a valuable experience. As he was fortunate when a boy in being surrounded by the influence of intellectual and good women, so he seems to have made a happy selection in reading law with Judge Glidden at Poland. Judge Glidden was a man of high character, eloquent address, magnificent presence, and a pathetic tone of voice that was never forgotten by those who listened to him in the days when the veterans came back from the war. Referring to Judge Glidden, one who had frequently heard him speak, says: "I have seldom heard McKinley speak, but the passionate, earnest manner he uses when he is stirred always recalls to memory the dear, lost voice of the man at whose feet he then sat."

McKinley studied law for two years, at least for a year and a half, under Judge Glidden. From all accounts, he was a diligent student. He was up early in the morning at his books, and stuck to them steadily until midnight, and sometimes long after. Of the society and manner of life at this time, we get a glimpse from a friend, who says: "Poland cherishes as one of her brightest memories the day the Soldiers' monument was dedicated and McKinley made the oration. Thus early was he at the forefront among Poland's sons, and she makes no mean showing of many men of mark and high attainments. Her school in early days ranked high as an institution of learning. It was first under Methodist control. Among the teachers at the time

McKinley studied there was Dr Reno. I have heard the story related how diligently they studied. A relative of mine roomed across the street from McKinley, and it was a strife between them who should first show a light to begin the early morning study, as well as the night vigils and the midnight oil."

It was at this time that McKinley was president of the Everett Literary Society, and on this subject a resident of Poland says: "A brother of one of the members says he always gained the decision of the judges in debate in those days—laughingly adding, we knew it was folly for us to try to gain a decision in our favor on the other side, unless we had our 'best girls' on the committee acting as judges. The society was in its glory then. Young men had spent many of the best years of their lives fighting for their country, now they were obliged to catch up the dropped stitches; hastily but earnestly they worked for intellectual attainments. Nothing ever gives me such a heart throb as the thought of this remnant of their generation taking up where they had left off and beginning over again, while so many of their brothers had been left forever behind, quietly sleeping under a Southern sun. The young girl students found it took every effort they could summon to keep pace with these men in years and experience aiming now for intellectual culture. The Everett Literary Society was a good training school in those memorable days. I doubt if McKinley ever became more heated or earnest in the halls of Con-

gress in the years that followed than he did then in gaining decisions, winning laurels, defending our rights, as he, our leader, led us on to victory. We had contests before a committee of judges, and our chapel hall would be crowded to witness the triumph of one contesting side over the other in essay, oration, recitation, debate, music, etc. All the questions ripe then were freely discussed. It is a pleasure to bring it all back. The same earnest pleading and oratorical finish, familiar to many people now, were then only realized by a limited few."

As with so many of our great men about this time, it became a struggle to know whether it was best for McKinley to pursue his course of study to completion, or to stop and take up some immediate means of earning a living. He had become impressed with the necessity of entering business for the purpose of helping the family, and letting his studies go. At this point in his career, the self-sacrificing and far-seeing sister stepped in and objected. When he was thus tempted, this sister said, "No, let us make any and every sacrifice that our brother may go on to the end." In obedience to this decision, McKinley, after learning what he could in the office of Judge Glidden, completed his course in the Albany Law School and began the practice of the law immediately after being admitted to the bar, in Canton, Ohio. This took place in the spring of 1867, when he bade adieu to his old friends and devoted followers at Poland and began his career at Canton.

Canton at that time must have been a place of 5,000

or 6,000 inhabitants, and not a flourishing manufacturing center of 30,000 or 35,000, as at the present day. This place was settled mostly by Pennsylvania Dutch and by Germans from the old country. Many of its inhabitants did not speak English. Of late years, however, the rapid growth of the town has been caused by the establishment of new mills and factories. These industries have attracted immigration, and the American element is much larger there than it was twenty-eight years ago, when McKinley first went there. The advocate of protection would not have to go much farther than his own home town to find a good illustration of the protection policy. The manufactures of this place, as we have seen, increased its population in twenty-five years four-fold.

Nearly all these improvements and this growth are traceable directly to protection. Canton is located at the junction of the two forks of the Nimishillon Creek, a tributary to the Muskingum. It was laid out in 1806 by Bezaleel Wells of Steubenville. It is compactly built up for a city of its size. Like many other Ohio towns of its class, it has an open square in the center from which the streets are laid out in checker-board fashion. It is on three railroads, one of which, the Pennsylvania, is a trunk line. Its manufactures are diversified, as much so as any other city in the country, and its people have the reputation of being industrious and thrifty.

After Poland, with its one street, Canton at that time undoubtedly seemed to the young soldier just

beginning the practice of the law, a considerable town. He began the earnest work of a permanent career without much of any influence excepting the prestige that his good reputation as a student and his career in the army would naturally give him. That he was highly regarded from his advent in Canton is evident from the fact that he had hardly been there more than two years before he was accorded the honor of the Republican nomination for prosecuting attorney. From this it is fair to judge that McKinley took an active part in the practical politics of his country at once on casting his lot with the people of Canton. At any rate, he won almost immediate recognition. There is another side to the story of his first nomination, but whichever version is accepted, it does not change the fact of McKinley's popularity with the people. It is said by some that as Stark county was hopelessly Democratic at the time, the Republican nomination was tendered this young lawyer as an empty honor. McKinley could not have looked at it in this light, for he at once took the stump, entered vigorously into the political campaign, and, to the great surprise of those who had regarded his fight as hopeless, was elected. In this contest he first evinced his superb ability as a successful campaigner. Within three years he had won by his own energy an office which is usually regarded as a prize to a young attorney. He served as district attorney of Stark county for two years and was renominated. This time the enemy was on the alert and compassed his defeat, but it was never-

theless a victory, for he kept the majority of his opponent down to 45. These two incidents attracted the attention of the people and as the town of Canton increased in importance, McKinley's law practice improved.

This was the beginning of McKinley's political career. After these two contests he generally took an active part in the politics of the county, and soon gained some reputation as a stump speaker in the district which is known as the Eighteenth.

During this period and until his election to Congress in 1876, McKinley gave considerable attention to the law, and built up a lucrative practice. He was regarded as a man of remarkable promise in the legal profession. As a persuasive advocate before a jury, he had no superior, certainly not in Canton, and his thorough preparation and eloquence won many important cases. In 1871 he was married to Miss Ida Saxton, but this event and his domestic life at Canton will be referred to further along. McKinley was well equipped as a lawyer, and his tremendous capacity for work and willingness to prepare thoroughly for cases, together with his aptitude in speaking, would have enabled him without doubt to win recognition as an eminent jurist had he not drifted into politics and then into statesmanship.

McKinley has really had two homes in Canton, the first one the modest home in which he passed the first years of his wedded life, and which is to be refitted and furnished for occupancy on his retirement from the office of Governor of Ohio, in January,

1896. The other, the old Saxton homestead, has been the Canton home of McKinley since his active entrance into politics. Whenever he has returned to Canton he has stopped at this house, which was the home of Mrs. McKinley's father and grandfather. He still has a study in the old place. It is a room under the mansard roof, up three flights of stairs, as quiet and secluded as any one could wish. Here are still to be found, as he left them, volumes of the Congressional Record, papers and documents which he has had little occasion to use during his four years in the Governorship. The homestead is a large brick structure. The main part is quite old, but additions and changes have kept it well up to date. It is located on the principal business thoroughfare of the city, just south of the public square. Until recently it possesssd a spacious lawn, but commercial encroachments have narrowed this until there is little more than a door-yard.

One of the chief features of the building is the large portico extending around two of its sides. The one on the north side was erected on the occasion of the soldiers' reunion in 1880, when a large company of the most prominent men in the country were entertained by McKinley. Since then many other distinguished men have shared the hospitality of the home and enjoyed a cigar on the spacious porch.

Among the men who have been entertained there are President Hayes, President Garfield, James G.

Blaine, Colonel Fred Grant, Governor Foster, Governor Foraker, General Sherman, Senator Sherman, John A. Logan, Hannibal Hamlin and others. A few days ago, Joe Jefferson, the actor, was received by Governor and Mrs. McKinley and given a breakfast in the historic house, which is one of the oldest and certainly most noted in Canton.

It was in 1876 that McKinley announced himself a candidate for Congress. The sitting Congressman, L. D. Woodworth of Mahoning, Judge Frease and several other Republicans, three of them from his own county, were opponents for the nomination. In Stark county, delegates to the Congressional convention were elected by a popular vote. McKinley carried every township in the county but one, and that had but a single delegate. In the other counties he was almost equally successful, and the primaries gave him a majority of the delegates in the district. He was nominated on the first ballot over all the other candidates.

The sudden rise into prominence and popularity of this young man naturally gave the old politicians something akin to a shock. Here was a new and unknown factor in the politics of the district. He had been accorded an opportunity which to them had seemed hopeless, had accepted, and won recognition. It was soon discovered that McKinley had not only come into the politics of that district, but that he had come to stay. For fourteen years after this event, he represented the district of which Stark county was a part; not the same district, for the Democrats did not

relish the prominent part he was playing in Congress and gerrymandered him three times, the last time successfully, so far as the temporary defeat of McKinley was concerned; but most unsuccessful in keeping him out of politics. The first attempt to change his district was made as early as 1878 by the Democrats, who, by gerrymandering the county, put him into a district that had 1,800 Democratic majority. McKinley carried it by 1,300 votes. In 1882 he had another narrow escape. This was the incident referred to by Mr. Springer of Illinois in debate, in which McKinley made such a striking reply, which will be found elsewhere in this volume. It will be recalled that 1882 was a bad year for Republicans. The New York State convention got into a great quarrel in consequence of President Arthur using his influence to nominate his Secretary of the Treasury, Judge Folger, for the Governorship of that State. The party was also torn up in Pennsylvania. Grover Cleveland was elected Governor over Judge Folger by a tremendous majority, and the gallant General Beaver was defeated in Pennsylvania by a then comparatively unknown man, Governor Pattison. That year McKinley's original district had been restored, and he was seeking a "third term," something not accorded its representatives. He had strong opposition for the nomination, some of it rankling until the election, and that, with the popular discontent temporarily prevailing, brought his majority down to eight votes. About this there is told a story. After the election McKinley went to

Washington and called on Secretary Folger at the Treasury Department. Folger, as has been said, had just been defeated for Governor of New York by Grover Cleveland, by the somewhat unwieldy majority of 192,000 votes. To him McKinley complained of the result in his district. "My majority was only eight votes," he said. "Young man," said Secretary Folger, "let me tell you that eight votes is a mighty big Republican majority this fall."

In 1884 they tried a similar gerrymander, but McKinley was not to be downed, and made 1,500 majority. Finally in 1890, the year he had placed upon the statute books of the Nation the famous "McKinley bill," partisan intolerance had its most iniquitous expression. Stark county was put in a district with Wayne, Medina and Holmes. One year before these counties had given Campbell, Democrat, 2,900 majority for Governor. McKinley made the fight, and against ex-Lieutenant Governor Warwick, a prominent and popular Democrat. Not, perhaps, since Abraham Lincoln contested Illinois for the Senatorship against Stephen A. Douglass, has there been a—in one sense—local political struggle which the whole country watched with such intense interest. It was indeed a battle royal. Some curious schemes were resorted to by his opponents. The cry that the McKinley bill had raised the price of necessaries was harped upon incessantly. This campaign is referred to at some length elsewhere, and it is only necessary to say here that despite the heavy odds against him, and such electioneering methods as

to say the least were unfair, McKinley was beaten by 363 votes, and that on the fullest vote ever cast in the district. He polled 2,500 more than had been given Harrison in 1888. This defeat in 1890 took him out of Congress, but, as we shall see, it made him Governor of Ohio in 1891.

While in Congress, Mr. McKinley served on the Committee of the Revision of Laws, the Judiciary Committee, the Committee of Expenditures of the Postoffice Department, and the Committee on Rules; and when General Garfield was nominated for the Presidency, McKinley was assigned to the Committee on Ways and Means in his place, and he continued to serve on the last named committee until the end of his Congressional career, being chairman of that committee during the last Congress, and the author of the famous tariff bill which bears his name.

CHAPTER IX.

MARRIAGE—MRS. McKINLEY.

Wedded to Miss Saxton—Remarkable Case of Editorial Longevity—A Charming Bank Cashier—Housekeeping in Canton—A Terrible Bereavement—Social Life in Washington—McKinley's Domestic Life—Mrs. McKinley's Personality—A Devoted Couple—Looking Forward to Rest and Comfort at Canton.

MRS. McKINLEY is an Ohio woman, born and bred. Of good family on both sides, she has the distinction of being a granddaughter of John Saxton, a man of note and scholarship, and who for sixty years was the editor of the *Ohio Repository*. He founded that paper in March, 1815. Waterloo was fought in June, and was given to his readers as the latest news by Mr. Saxton in September of that year. In September, 1870, he was still at his post to publish the surrender at Sedan. This curious measure of editorial longevity, the fall of the two Napoleons, was feelingly commented on by Horace Greely, who was a warm personal friend of Mr. Saxton; also by the editor of the *Chicago Tribune*, Joseph Medill, a former citizen of Canton.

The late James A. Saxton, the father of Mrs. McKinley, was a man of affairs, a banker and capitalist. Born and married in Canton, it was in the

beautiful homestead of his own creation that his daughter Ida was born and passed her happy young life. Mrs. Saxton, a woman of cultivation and sound good sense, superintended her daughter's education until the time came when, in order to procure for her greater advantages, she was sent away to school, first in Cleveland, and later to the Brook Hall Seminary of Media, Pennsylvania, then under the charge of Miss Eastman, a well-known educator of that time, where she remained for three years. In both schools Miss Saxton endeared herself to teachers and pupils, and the friendships then formed have retained their warmth to the present day.

In 1869, with her sister, now Mrs. Barber of Canton, and a party of friends, Miss Saxton visited the capitals of Europe, and returned after a tour of some length to begin life in earnest.

A career of undisputed belleship offered itself to the banker's daughter, who was remarkable not only for her personal charms and attractive manner, but had just that dash of mischief bordering on coquetry that to men is irresistible, while her own sex loved her for her generous warm-heartedness and quick courtesy that in a girl of her social position were doubly attractive.

It happened, however, that Mr. Saxton was a man of opinions, and some of them—notably those to do with women—were quite abreast of our own day. He believed that marriage should be entirely a matter of choice; that every woman should be so trained to meet life that under necessity she could battle for and

buy her own bread, and not, in the name of matrimony, sell herself for it. Further than that, his love for his daughter was so profound and passionate that he could not endure the thought of her marriage in any event. And this was not from that sort of parental selfishness that demands the sacrifice of a daughter's life to a parent's whim, but because his conception of marriage was so high and ideal, that he dreaded the possibility of one of those terrible mistakes that might destroy the peace so dear to him.

Mr. Saxton himself was one of those fortunate men who, having met the right woman, knew it, married her, and continued to know it all the days of his life. Having realized his own ideals of that rare happiness, the flower of perfect union, he had a fear almost morbid that his daughter might listen to the voice of any wooer. Like some wise fathers before him, he devised a little scheme that with a single stroke would put his theories in practice and divert the bright wits of his daughter into channels in which suitors would not figure.

Without more ado, Miss Ida Saxton was introduced into her father's bank, and after a brief and thorough training, put in the responsible place of cashier, where there was little doubt her pretty head cast such a halo round the dingy square window at which she presided, that more than one young man forgot whether he had come to cash a check or make a deposit, and it is said a strange confusion sometimes existed between bouquets and bills. At any rate the young lady developed under her father's

M'KINLEY'S RESIDENCE AT CANTON, OHIO.

tuition into a thorough and practical woman of business, and for that experience, so useful to her later in life, she has never ceased to be grateful.

To go back a little. At the time when young McKinley was fighting for the Union, Miss Ida Saxton was pursuing her studies at home, and after school hours her time was spent in scraping lint and making bandages for our wounded soldiers, and so all unconsciously the two began their life's work for their country together. When she returned from foreign travel, it was to find McKinley fairly started in his legal career.

Then commenced the first and only romance of a lifetime. The young lawyer vanquished an array of rivals and eventually put the cashier's window quite out of countenance, and won a tribute then, than which none greater has ever been paid him.

"You are the only man I have ever known to whom I would entrust my daughter," said Mr. Saxton, and there were tears in his eyes, but he meant what he said.

So it came about that on January 25, 1871, in the quaint old Presbyterian church built almost entirely by her grandmother, and of which Miss Saxton was a member, and for several years a teacher in its Sunday-school, she was married to William McKinley. Dr. Buckingham of the Presbyterian church and Dr. Endsley of the Methodist church officiated on the occasion.

The wedding was the first ceremony of any kind to take place in the church, which overflowed with a

friendly throng anxious to bid God-speed to the handsome and brilliant young pair. After her marriage, Mrs. McKinley became a communicant of the Methodist church, of which her husband has been a life-long member.

Now began the first experience of housekeeping in that cosy and pretty home in Canton that has since become historic. Here the young husband could say with Goethe: "A hearth of one's own and a good wife are worth gold and pearls."

Here were born to them two lovely little children, both girls, and christened Kate and Ida, the latter having come as a Christmas gift from Heaven in 1871.

Just previous to the birth of the second child, Mrs. McKinley was called upon to face the first great sorrow of her life, in the death of her dearly beloved mother. From this blow she never quite recovered, and was still suffering with prostration when six months later the little flower-like Ida faded away, to be soon followed by Katie, who had reached that charming age between three and four years, and whose beauty and brightness were a source not only of happiness but of pride to both parents.

After the loss of their children, Major and Mrs. McKinley left their own house and went for a time to the cheerful old homestead that had been Mrs. McKinley's home in girlhood. There they resided until Major McKinley's departure to take his seat in Congress, in 1877, after which and for the next

fourteen years they were of course obliged to spend most of their time in Washington.

Never a robust woman, Mrs. McKinley was so physically overcome from these terrible bereavements that from that time to this she has never known the happiness of perfect health. When the average woman is bereft of her children and her strength, is exiled from society and compelled to deny herself all those little pleasures that sweeten life, she is apt to degenerate into an indolent and selfish invalid, whose existence is as burdensome to others as to herself.

Certainly there is no severer test of a woman's mettle than that of physical disability, but it is one which Mrs. McKinley has borne with gentle heroism. She has never allowed her health for a moment to interfere with her husband's career. The sacrifices he has made to be with and near her have been voluntary, and repaid on her part by a devotion which, rendering her indifferent to suffering and exertion, have enabled her to follow him wherever exacting duties have demanded his presence.

A sensitive, nervous, high-strung woman, Mrs. McKinley has the extraordinary power of endurance that goes with her temperament. Though unable to be present at public meetings or formal festivities of any sort, she travels North, East, South and West, thousands and thousand of miles, in order to be with her husband, at all times cheerful, ready to be amused, quick to appreciate the kindness and

consideration her presence commands, and able to make her husband's friends her own.

During the fourteen years in which McKinley represented the Eighteenth Ohio District in Congress, Mrs. McKinley's life was naturally of a quiet and retired character, but notwithstanding she received a great many of her husband's friends, and in a quiet way did a good deal for the enjoyment of other people, though her lack of strength and the fact of their frequent change of residence deterred her from any attempt at housekeeping.

Through President Hayes's administration, Mrs. McKinley was Mrs. Hayes's most intimate friend. In Mrs. Hayes's absences, she frequently presided at the White House. She was ever able to fulfill the social duties of her position, and was considered one of the belles of the administration, and the pictures taken of her at that time certainly justify the admiration she excited.

Mrs. McKinley was closely associated with the one romance that took place in the President's family during the four years of his administration. This was the marriage of General Russell Hastings to Miss Platt, the very attractive niece of Mrs. Hayes, and a member of the President's family. General Hastings was an old and dear army friend of Major McKinley's, who had served in the same regiment with him during the war, and they had often tented together.

During the winter of 1878-9 General Hastings visited Washington, and it was then he became

acquainted with Miss Platt, who was a great friend of Mrs. McKinley. It was in her pleasant drawing-room at the Ebbitt House that the General had an opportunity to evince that devotion which the publicity of the White House would have made an alarming ordeal to a young man. The wedding of General Hastings and Miss Platt took place in the White House, and of course was a social event of importance.

During the last few years Mrs. McKinley's health has greatly improved and, though unable to take active exercise, she no longer finds it necessary to seclude herself, but drives out daily, does her own shopping, receives visitors, and is able to take part in social pleasures of a quiet character.

Though years and cruel bodily anguish have left their traces, Mrs. McKinley's personality has lost little of its charm. She has one advantage that time never destroys—a remarkably well-shaped head, small and admirably proportioned; in short, fine enough for a medallion—a milliner would say a good bonnet head. It may be said that Mrs. McKinley always wears pretty bonnets, in the choosing of which the Governor takes a profound interest.

For greater comfort, the Governor's wife has had her thick brown hair cut close, but it is not unbecoming, and clusters over her white forehead in short locks that wave into a harmonious frame for a face, easier pictured in water colors than words. There is that soft transparency of coloring which, with the stamp of much suffering, imparts an almost intensity

of refinement to the features. The straight and delicate nose, with its fine nostrils, rises well between the deep blue eyes, over-arched by brows dark and distinctively drawn, and underscored by dark shadows that enhance their size and impart a suggestion of langour.

Mrs. McKinley has a firm little chin which adds character to her face, and a very beautiful smile, one of the kind that illumines the eyes and betrays sweetness of disposition. She cares little for dress, and her toilets are marked only by a simplicity and love of color; but she has a true feminine fondness for the beautiful, and is a connoisseur in lace, of which she has an exquisite and rare collection, the nucleus of which was formed when, as a young girl, she traveled for some time abroad.

Mrs. McKinley devotes a great deal of her time to making pretty things for the comfort and amusement of children, and her crocheted slippers—the daintiest, warmest little foot-coverings ever devised, are famous throughout the country. Indeed, more than three thousand pairs of these slippers have found their way into the hospitals, where weary feet delight in them.

The Governor's wife does a great deal of newspaper reading, and takes, as might be expected, a profound interest in all that is printed in regard to her husband. When she is well enough to go out, the theater affords an attraction that, in common with the Governor, she thoroughly enjoys. Their greatest delight, when at home, is to be found in the com-

panionship of little children, for whom the Governor and his wife both evince an affection as strong as it is touching, and it may truly be said that they have little friends in every part of the country, to whom their arrival is always a source of interest and childish joy.

In regard to Governor McKinley's domestic life, perhaps the most pathetic thing to be said is that there has been so little of it. On January 25, 1896, Governor McKinley and his wife will celebrate their silver wedding, in the same modest house in Canton, in which a quarter of a century before they began life together.

Out of these twenty-five years of success and sorrow, hard work and sweet triumph, over twenty have been devoted by the Governor to the public service, a service that has demanded constant change of residence and surroundings, making the privacy and comfort of a home well nigh impossible. To a man whose tastes and habits qualify him for the quiet and enjoyment of home life, this has been, no doubt, a continual source of regret, the more so that Mrs. McKinley's fragile health has made it imperative that she should lead as tranquil and restful a life as possible. But now, whatever the future may have in store for him, the friends of Governor McKinley will rejoice in the rest and quiet that is his for the present, and in the renewal of that beautiful moon that for these married lovers has never waned. All James Saxton's hopes have been realized, for it may be said of his daughter, "She is a wife who is the soul of her husband."

CHAPTER X.

A BLAINE DELEGATE IN 1884.

McKinley Becomes a National Character—A Tumultuous State Convention at Cleveland—The Chairman vs. the Delegates—McKinley Forced to the Front—The Master-Spirit at Chicago Leads the Blaine Forces—The Challenge—Accepted and the Victory Won.

THE distinction which Governor McKinley enjoys as a public man may be said to date from 1884, although his great ability had been generally recognized long before this, and he had already achieved a wide reputation throughout the country as a campaign speaker. But it was in 1884 that observers began to realize that a new star had arisen in the National political firmament. He did not spring suddenly before the public gaze; his progress to the front had been gradual but sure; he had already become recognized as one of the most popular expounders of the doctrine of protection. Judge Kelley of Pennsylvania conceded that the day was not far distant when his leadership would be supplanted by that of the capable and sturdy young Republican of the Buckeye State. Judge Kelley often remarked to friends that there was no man upon whose shoulders he would rather let his mantle fall than William McKinley.

JAMES G. BLAINE.

It was at the great National convention of 1884, at Chicago, at which McKinley's claims to leadership—or, at least, to be considered as one of the prominent men of the Nation in the councils of his party—came to be recognized. He was a "Blaine man" at this convention. His position was well understood among his friends, and it was well defined by the developments of the National convention. In being for Mr. Blaine he but represented the overwhelming sentiment of the Mahoning valley; and yet, while he favored Mr. Blaine, he had the kindliest feeling for the illustrious Senator from Ohio, John Sherman, who at that convention was also a candidate for the Presidency.

McKinley was a strong advocate of the sentiment that all legitimate means should be sought to nominate Blaine, but if that was impossible, Ohio should cast a solid vote for Mr. Sherman. There is the best of reason for saying that Mr. Sherman respected McKinley's attitude, and that from first to last the Senator had confidence in McKinley's integrity and good faith. It is noteworthy that in this contest Hon. J. B. Foraker took the same position with regard to John Sherman as Major McKinley did with regard to Blaine.

The events in Ohio leading up to the National convention are full of interest. Ohio was proud of John Sherman, and there was a universal belief in the thorough fitness of the Senator to fill the exalted position of President of the United States; but the intense affection for Garfield in the State and particu-

larly in the "Western Reserve," had been transferred to Blaine. Sherman's adherents always recognized the force of this sentiment for Blaine, and at the State convention the Sherman leaders adopted a conciliatory policy.

The Ohio Republican State convention was held at Cleveland in April, 1884. McKinley came to Cleveland fresh from a tariff debate. He was made permanent chairman of the convention. The splendidly efficient and impartial manner in which he performed his duties was much commented upon not only in Ohio but throughout the country. The Blaine following manifestly were in the majority at the convention, but the Sherman men had the best organization, and most of the "old-time" politicians of the State were pronouncedly in favor of the Ohio Senator. McKinley's speech as chairman was brief, but was a skillful presentation of the issues of the day. After hurriedly sketching the grand record of the Republican party, he said:

The difference between the Republican and Democratic party is this—the Republican party never made a promise which it has not kept, and the Democratic party never made a promise which it has kept. Not in its whole history, commencing from 1856 down to the present hour, is there a single promise made by the Republican party to the people that it has not faithfully kept. And then it is not a laggard party. If there is any one thing the people like, it is courage. They neither like laggards nor do they like shams; and the Democratic party is the embodiment of both.

The great struggle at the convention was on the election of four delegates-at-large. Although it was well understood that Foraker's first choice was Sherman, the Blaine men generously acquiesced in his election by acclamation as a delegate-at-large—a deserved compliment earned by the magnificent although unsuccessful gubernatorial campaign he had made a year before. A number of names were then presented for the remaining three places. Judge King of Mahoning insisted that as the Blaine men had agreed to elect Judge Foraker by acclamation, they were entitled to the same compliment, and he presented the name of the "Blind Man Eloquent," the venerable Judge West of Bellefontaine, who was afterwards selected to put Mr. Blaine in nomination at Chicago. Motions were made for the selection of other gentlemen by acclamation. Great confusion reigned. Mr. King of Muskingum county mounted a chair and created a sensation by nominating McKinley as the second delegate-at-large.

McKinley's conduct was characteristic of the man, and illustrated his unselfishness and his good faith. From his place as presiding officer he thanked the convention very sincerely, but he said that he could not allow his name to go before the convention at that time, as he had assured some gentlemen who were candidates that he would not permit his name to be used as long as their names were before the convention. The uproar became tumultuous. The great majority of the convention were plainly in favor of the election of McKinley by acclama-

tion, although there was some objection. Mr. King of Muskingum county assuming the prerogatives of the Chair, put the motion and declared it carried, McKinley all the time pounding on the table with his gavel and protesting. McKinley ruled that the motion had not prevailed. General Grosvenor of Athens, amid great excitement, mounted the platform and the second time put the motion and declared it carried.

Again McKinley ruled that the motion had not prevailed and insisted on the vote being taken on the names already submitted, excluding his own. A delegate on the floor appealed from the decision of the Chair in his ruling that General Grosvenor's motion had not prevailed and was out of order. The decision of the Chair was not sustained, but in spite of that McKinley stubbornly refused to acknowledge the validity of General Grosvenor's motion and the action of the convention thereon. Once more General Grosvenor arose—this time to a point of order. He insisted that McKinley had been elected by acclamation, and that the convention had now to elect two more delegates-at-large.

The Chair once more overruled the point of order and declared that he had not been elected, and that the business before the convention was the election of three delegates-at-large from among the names submitted, excepting his owu. A delegate appealed from the decision of the Chair. McKinley begged the convention to sustain him in his position. Amid tumultuous confusion, the Chair ordered the balloting

to go on. A Western Reserve delegate urged all the Blaine men to vote for Judge West. Another delegate asked the convention to consider McKinley as having been put in nomination, despite his declination.

At this there were thunders of cheers. The clerk proceeded to call the roll. From early in the balloting it was evident that McKinley was bound to be elected. Counties that had favored other candidates abandoned them and voted solidly for McKinley. Nearly all the "Blaine counties" voted in a lump for McKinley. Judge King moved that McKinley be nominated by acclamation. Cries of "no" came from several counties having candidates, but nothing could turn the torrent which was carrying McKinley. After between three and four hundred votes had been recorded for McKinley, and it was recognized by everybody that he had already been elected, Judge West moved that McKinley be elected by acclamation. Further contest was stopped, and McKinley was elected a delegate-at-large by acclamation.

McKinley bore himself modestly at Chicago, but his great quality of leadership came to the front by force of circumstances. He only spoke two or three times from the floor of the convention, but every time he arose he attracted attention, and the influence he exerted was most remarkable. At the critical time during the convention his was the voice that rallied the Blaine forces. Three ballots had been taken. Blaine gained on each ballot. The final and

desperate effort was made by the other candidates under the leadership of the dashing Foraker in Sherman's behalf for an adjournment. Curtis, the great editor of *Harper's Weekly*, and Theodore Roosevelt were on chairs frantically yelling. Stewart of Pennsylvania, and Carr of California, in their zeal for Blaine, were trying to outdo Curtis and Roosevelt in voice. The massive and phlegmatic Dutcher of New York, one of Arthur's generals, was thundering away in the effort to catch the ear and eye of the chairman of the convention, General Henderson of Missouri. There was pandemonium, and there threatened to be a panic.

In the midst of the storm McKinley arose. Although only of medium stature, his form seemed to tower above those around him. His face was pale and looked like a piece of marble statuary, except that his eyes fairly blazed. Before he had uttered two words, his voice could be heard. He waved his hand and the tumult ceased. No mistake about it—he was the master-spirit of that convention. Calm and like granite he stood. His short speech was carried in clarion tones all over the immense hall. As a friend of Blaine, he said, he recognized and respected the rights of friends of other candidates to secure an adjournment, and said: "Let the motion be put and let everybody favorable to the nomination of Blaine vote against it."

That settled it. Under McKinley's leadership, assumed spontaneously and boldly, the Blaine men accepted the challenge, the motion for an adjourn-

ment was voted down, and the victory was won. It was not defeat that McKinley turned aside—the situation was not so serious as that; but in a crisis, when the Blaine men were getting demoralized and the convention was turning itself into a mob, McKinley leaping to the front, by one command martialed the Blaine men into line, and pressed them forward to their already sighted victory. Two men above all others made their mark at that great convention, and they were both Ohio men—McKinley and Foraker.

McKinley was chairman of the Committee on Resolutions. He received an ovation when he appeared to read the platform. Few men could have read it as he did, his enunciation being perfect and his sonorous voice carrying every word to the limits of the hall. The resolutions had been unanimously adopted by the committee. Following are the planks on the tariff and financial questions:

It is the first duty of a good government to protect the rights and promote the interests of its own people.

The largest diversity of industry is most productive of general prosperity, and of the comfort and independence of the people.

We, therefore, demand that the imposition of duties on foreign imports shall be made, not "for revenue only," but that in raising the requisite revenues for the Government, such duties shall be levied as to afford security to our diversified industries, and protection to the rights and wages of the laborer; to the end that active and intelligent laborer, as well as capital, may have its just

reward, and the laboring man his full share in the National prosperity.

Against the so-called economic system of the Democratic party, which would degrade our labor to the foreign standard, we enter our earnest protest.

The Democratic party has failed completely to relieve the people of its burden of unnecessary taxation by a wise reduction of the surplus.

The Republican party pledges itself to correct the inequalities of the tariff, and to reduce the surplus, not by the vicious and indiscriminate process of horizontal reduction, but by such methods as will relieve the taxpayer without injuring the labor or the great productive interests of the country.

We recognize the importance of sheep husbandry in the United States, the serious depression which it is now experiencing, and the danger threatening its future prosperity; and we, therefore, respect the demands of the representatives of this important agricultural interest for a readjustment of duties upon foreign wool, in order that such industry shall have full and adequate protection.

We have always recommended the best money known to the civilized world; and we urge that efforts should be made to unite all commercial nations in the establishment of an international standard which shall fix for all the relative value of gold and silver coinage.

McKinley from this occasion became a national character.

CHAPTER XI.

LOYALTY TO SHERMAN—1888.

The Hero of the National Convention—A Speech Unsurpassed for Eloquence and Candor—A Midnight Episode—Dramatic Declaration of McKinley to the New Jersey Delegation—Would Rather Face Death than Such a Nomination—Other Incidents of the Convention which Nominated Harrison.

ONE of McKinley's conspicuous traits of character is his loyalty to his friends and to his word. How he was loyal to Sherman in 1888, as Ohio's declared choice for the Presidency, is well told as follows by the New York *Mail and Express* of July 17, 1895.

"Cæsar thrice thrust away the kingly crown on the Lupercal, and McKinley has twice waved aside a Presidential nomination which might have been his. No one who was privileged to witness the stirring scenes of the Republican National Convention in June, 1888, can ever forget them. No candidate had been able to secure a majority. Sherman, Alger, Allison, Harrison, Gresham and Depew all had a strong following, but none were anywhere near a nomination. McKinley at the head of the Ohio delegation, instructed to vote his delegation

solidly of Sherman, was one of the heroes of the convention.

"His entrance at each session was greeted with the wildest enthusiasm. Day and night he was at work among the various State delegations, laboring to secure votes for Ohio's great financier. On the sixth ballot a delegate voted for William McKinley, and was greeted by cheers which swelled again and again before silence could be restored. The next State that was called cast seventeen votes for McKinley, and again the cheers broke forth. The drift was unmistakably setting toward McKinley like an ocean tide.

"Every one expected to see the Garfield nomination of 1880 repeated. But they were disappointed. The roll call was interrupted by McKinley, who, leaping upon a chair at the end of the middle aisle, pale, but calm and determined, uttered a speech which, unpremeditated as it must have been, has never been surpassed for eloquence, for candor and unselfish loyalty. He said:

"'MR. PRESIDENT AND GENTLEMEN OF THE CONVENTION—I am here as one of the chosen representatives of my State. I am here by resolution of the Republican State Convention, commanding me to cast my vote for John Sherman for President, and to use every worthy endeavor to secure his nomination. I accepted the trust, because my heart and judgment were in accord with the letter and spirit and purpose of that resolution. It has pleased certain delegates to cast their votes for me for President. I am not insensible to the honor they would

do me, but in the presence of the duty resting upon me, I can not remain silent with honor. I can not consistently with the wish of the State whose credentials I bear, and which has trusted me; I can not consistently, with my own views of personal integrity, consent, or seem to consent, to permit my name to be used as a candidate before this convention. I would not respect myself if I could find it in my heart to do or to permit to be done that which could even be ground for any one to suspect that I wavered in my loyalty to Ohio, or my devotion to the chief of her choice and the chief of mine. I do not request—I demand that no delegate who would not cast reflection upon me shall cast a ballot for me.'

"The tide was turned, for who could resist such an appeal from a man so loyal, so honorable and so unselfish? On the seventh ballot Benjamin Harrison was named, but McKinley went home to Ohio stronger than ever in the hearts of his fellow-men."

It is the privilege of the author of this book to publish for the first time an incident which sets the seal of sincerity upon McKinley's public declaration as above. The gentleman who tells it is one of the best known Republicans of Ohio—Hon. John Little, of Xenia, formerly Attorney General of the State and afterward a Congressional colleague of McKinley. In response to a request to narrate the incident—for McKinley refused to talk about it—Mr. Little has kindly written the following interesting letter:

XENIA, O., Dec. 6, 1895.

What, dear sir, I am about to relate, I once asked of Governor McKinley permission to give to the

press. It was not granted. A similar request now would probably meet with a like fate. On reflection, I am persuaded the incident is as much my property as his, so far as its publication is concerned, and venture to give it to you for such use as is in your judgment proper.

Those who attended the Republican National Convention of 1888 will not fail to remember the frequent manifestations of friendship towards William McKinley from its very beginning. During its six days' continuance he was usually among the first to reach his seat and the last to leave it. Whether his purpose was to avoid conspicuity, I could not say; but if so, he could not better have accomplished his design. Still, hurried as were his steps to his seat, his entrance when discovered was the signal for a cheer. Every day at Ohio headquarters, and more and more as the week wore away, delegates from all parts of the country asked: "Why not nominate McKinley?"

When the balloting began, occasional votes were thrown for him. These were received in the convention and in the galleries with marked favor. They increased as the balloting went on, until he, with Mr. Sherman's concurrence, arose in his seat and made that short, eloquent appeal, destined to live in the literature of conventions, in which he urged—almost commanded—those throwing their votes for him to desist. Commissioned by the Republicans of Ohio to promote the nomination of Mr. Sherman, he felt he could not honorably sit quietly

and receive votes for himself, though few in number or merely complimentary in character. This manly speech did not have the effect intended. The vote continued. If anything, it quickened the interest of the convention in its author. Talk of his nomination about the hotels then became more earnest. Particularly was this the case at the Grand Pacific, where he and others of the Ohio delegates stopped. This caused him much annoyance and discomfort, along about Saturday, as I know.

Just after midnight of the Sunday before final adjournment on Monday, he took my arm at the Sherman headquarters in that hotel and requested me to go with him. He did not state where he was going, nor why he desired company. I asked no questions, but went. He led the way to the rooms of the New Jersey delegation in the same building. On entering, he at once inquired for the chairman of the delegation. He was brought in from an adjoining room, and after the usual greetings—they were old acquaintances—the following colloquy took place. It deeply impressed me and I think I give it almost word for word.

Addressing the chairman by name—and this I do not recall—Mr. McKinley said: "I have just been informed that your delegation has determined to cast its solid vote for me, to-morrow, and called to inquire whether this is true."

"I do not wish to give you a short answer, Major," responded the chairman, "but whether true or not, it is a matter of our own concern. We act on

our own responsibility in determining how we shall cast our vote, being accountable only to the Republicans of New Jersey for what we do."

"I beg your pardon," warmly responded the Major, with a face somewhat flushed, "allow me to say that it is not a matter of your own concern alone. It deeply concerns me, and I feel that it is my right to know your purpose. I am sure you will not deny me."

"No, no," replied the chairman, "since you are so earnest about it, I see no impropriety in saying to you we have determined to cast our vote for William McKinley, Jr., of Ohio, for President, from now on to the end, and we shall not be alone."

I will not attempt to quote the response. It was short, not occupying more than three or four minutes in delivery and addressed to all the delegates present. He tersely spoke of Mr. Sherman's acknowledged fitness for the Presidency, of the desire of Ohio long entertained to see him in that exalted place, of himself having accepted the trust of delegate-at-large to aid in accomplishing his nomination, of his purpose expressed in open convention in that regard which he still entertained, of the discredit that would necessarily attach to his conduct if he now allowed his own name to be used in that connection, repudiating the idea that his nomination could occur without being himself held to responsibility for it. His voice was subdued to suit the surroundings, and somewhat tremulous from excitement. It rang out but once and that was the close. Speaking of receiving votes

for himself as he was situated, raising his right arm, he said with clinched fist and face as white as it will be in death—I seem even now to hear his ringing words:

"Rather than that I would suffer the loss of that good right arm! Yes, I would suffer death! To accept a nomination, if one were possible, under these circumstances, would inevitably lead to my defeat, *and it ought to lead to my defeat!*" The last clause was uttered slowly and with great emphasis.

This short speech, made in the small hours of the night to less than a dozen auditors, has since seemed to me the most eloquent utterance I ever heard. At any rate, I have no recollection of being myself so moved. At its conclusion I turned from the light to conceal my own emotions. The stillness which followed, seemed to me long, was broken by the chairman, who said: "Well, Major, if that is the way you view it, of course we will not vote for you."

"I thank you profoundly," said McKinley. "You don't know what relief that assurance gives me. Now that you have so kindly granted my request, let me make another of you."

"What is it?" queried the chairman.

"That you cast your vote for Mr. Sherman to-morrow. We have now strong hopes of his nomination," was the reply.

The chairman promised to consider the request and thought Mr. Sherman would get a part of the vote at any rate.

Very truly,

JOHN LITTLE.

ROBERT P. PORTER,

The World, Cleveland, O.

The dramatic incident so admirably told by Mr. Little has made a profound impression upon the writer of this volume, because at the time he was strongly of the impression that McKinley's nomination was the best solution. On the same Saturday night in 1888 that the above colloquy took place at the New Jersey headquarters in Chicago, the writer indicted the following article:

THE BEST SOLUTION.

"The Chicago convention very wisely decided to adjourn until Monday rather than run the risk of stampeding a nomination at the close of a feverish and exciting day. Mr. Depew's withdrawal practically leaves the Western candidates, Alger, Allison, Harrison, Sherman and Gresham, as the principal contestants.

"If words count for anything, Mr. Blaine is out of the contest, and the press, in defense of Mr. Blaine, must contend that his friends in pushing his candidacy make a great mistake. Five ballots have been cast, and it is apparent that in the judgment of a majority of the convention no one of the leading Western candidates is sufficiently sure of carrying the doubtful Eastern States to secure a prompt nomination. At any rate, for either this reason or some other reason which has not come to the surface, the five principal contestants, now that Mr. Depew has withdrawn, show, with the exception of Harrison,

about the same relative strength as they did at the commencement of the balloting, and no one of the five apparently can draw sufficient support from the remaining four to make him the nominee of the convention.

"This being the case, what is the best thing to do? Stampede the convention for Blaine, say some of the ardent followers of the Maine statesman. If it is impossible to nominate any other candidate, by all means let all the contestants withdraw in favor of Mr. Blaine, and tender him the nomination unanimously. Anything short of this Mr. Blaine ought not, in justice to himself, accept. Indeed, there would be danger of his declining a nomination unless tendered in the way suggested. What is the other solution? Without in any way underestimating the strength and qualities of heart and mind of the five statesmen who led in the balloting at Chicago yesterday, there is a man who could crystallize the Sherman, the Harrison, the Alger, the Gresham and the Allison vote into one harmonious whole and bring together all the warring elements at Chicago.

"He is a man whose public career as a fighting soldier and working statesman has impressed itself upon his countrymen without any effort of his own. He is a man whose heart is in sympathy with those who toil in the mine, the workshop and on the farm. His Congressional record is without a blemish. He is the best equipped man on the main question of the tariff, and his pen has for years written the reports and framed the platforms of the party. In ten or

twelve years of Congressional life, this man has always voted right on the great questions of the day. He would bring to his support every Republican vote, and, at the same time, no man who intends to change from the Democratic to the Republican party because of the free trade tendencies of the Democracy, could refuse to vote for the great advocate of protection—Major William McKinley of Ohio.

"The nomination of Major McKinley at this stage of the proceedings would be a wise and a fortunate thing for the Republican party. He would be acceptable alike to Pennsylvania and New York, on account of his tariff views. He would stand as good a chance to carry the doubtful states of the East as Mr. Blaine. His nomination would please Mr. Blaine, because he knows that the success of the Republican party depends on a strong fight for protection. And Mr. Blaine has shown that the success and harmony of the Republican party are more to him than personal ambition.

"The nomination of Major McKinley should be gratifying to Senator Sherman and his friends, because the veteran Ohio statesman has no truer and more devoted and disinterested friend than the fighting major. It would enable the Harrison men, the Gresham men, the Allison men and the Alger men to unite their forces on a Western candidate, who would come to them free from all antagonisms and ready to greet them all in a spirit that would promote party harmony. And, lastly, it would enable the conven-

tion to still further strengthen the ticket with a New York man for Vice-President.

"The *Press* has thus far offered no advice to the convention in relation to candidates. It only makes these suggestions because it believes that the easiest, safest, and most satisfactory solution of the Chicago problem is William McKinley. Let the man who wrote the platform be our standard-bearer for 1888."

This article was printed Sunday morning in the *New York Press*. It was, however, telegraphed to Chicago Saturday, and appeared in some of the Chicago newspapers, and naturally added to the McKinley talk at the convention. That McKinley himself was right cannot be denied, and yet under such pressure how few men could have resisted the nomination. That he did, not only showed his loyalty to Sherman, but it demonstrated his fitness for any trust the people can bestow upon him.

CHAPTER XII.

CONGRESSIONAL EXPERIENCE.

McKinley as a Congressman—A Painstaking Committee Worker—Commanded Attention Whenever He Spoke—Personal Popularity Among His Colleagues—A Close Student, but Accessible to Friends—An Adroit Debater—Some Sharp Passages of Words Recalled.

THE experiences of fourteen years in Congress can not be summarized in one brief chapter. Nor is this the intention. Further along will be presented at some length the important part which McKinley played in National legislation. In a preceding chapter it has been shown how the young lawyer drifted into politics, surprised local sages and made himself a power in the Congressional district of which Stark county was part. Once firmly established, there was no such thing as dislodging him, even by changing the district, and there he remained from 1876 to 1890. Aside from the part McKinley took at the Capital in the important issues elsewhere treated, he won for himself the reputation of an industrious, well-informed, level-headed member on any and all questions which came up. He was one of those men who conscientiously attend to all the duties which devolve upon them. He never neglected

committee meetings. He was known as a working member among his colleagues at Washington, and among his people at home as a representative who looked with scrupulous care after the varied wants of his constituents.

Personally, McKinley was popular at Washington. His manner toward the heads of the departments or bureaus was affable and courtly. He was on good terms with them all, attended to his business personally, and not through the medium of a private secretary constantly in evidence.

For reasons already explained, McKinley went very little into society after the close of the Hayes administration. He became almost a recluse for some years, devoting evenings to study and rarely leaving the side of Mrs. McKinley. Still he was accessible to all friends who called in the evening to smoke and chat with him in the little office on the fifth floor of the Ebbitt House. Opposite were his apartments, and rarely half an hour passed without a brief visit to see that Mrs. McKinley needed nothing. As a result of this quiet, studious life, McKinley developed intellectually during his Congressional career. His character was strongly formed before his Washington experience began. Consequently he came away from the National Capital a stronger and more fully equipped man than most members after such an experience. His sojourn there never changed his ideas of life, nor his personal habits. Success and additional honors have in no way changed McKinley's personality. With increasing

years he has added a little to his dignity of manner, but it would be difficult for his friends of twenty-five years ago to point out wherein his success has chang d his bearing towards the most humble of them.

McKinley is an adroit debater. The Congressional Record does not show that he was ever worsted in a passage of arms with the most brilliant of his colleagues. In the earlier years in the House of Representatives, he was cautious and only undertook debate on questions with which he was thoroughly familiar. Unlike most new members, McKinley did not rush madly into the wordy arena.

He listened, weighed well the strength of his antagonists and said little until his time and opportunity came. For this reason, when McKinley arose to speak, he invariably commanded the attention of the House. He was generally regarded as one of the members who had something to say, who said it well, and when he had said it, stopped. It was also discovered that McKinley was quick in debate, and that though his speech upon such occasions might be termed the essence of courtesy, it usually made the gentleman who interrupted wish he had let McKinley alone.

It is only possible to recall a few of these bright passages of words, but they will serve to illustrate the readiness displayed upon all occasions by McKinley in answering questions or in turning the tables upon his adversary. While most of the incidents herein referred to were spontaneous, the most adroit

and skillful, when the Mills bill was under discussion, was undoubtedly premeditated. In this particular instance, McKinley deliberately led the Honorable Leopold Morse of Boston into a trap, and then emphasized a tariff lesson which made the country laugh, and has never been forgotten by those who, like the writer, witnessed the incident.

It must not be supposed for a moment that McKinley went deliberately gunning for big game in the early days of his career to show his skill as a debater. On the contrary, the strong point in the man is the fact that he always waited until some of the most distinguished and ready debaters on the Democratic side came after him. Then, and not until then, did he talk back. During the fourteen years of his Congressional life, he came in hand-to-hand conflict with such skilled parliamentarians as Carlisle, Hewitt, Crisp, Randall, Morrison, Mills, Wilson, both the Breckenridges, Springer and a host of lesser lights. In these debates he nearly always came out ahead, and, with hardly an exception, sent home the last thrust amid loud applause from the Republican side of the House.

It was during the tariff debate in the early part of 1882. Mr. Hewitt, of New York, was at that time one of the ablest and most skillful debaters in the House. He was almost as much feared by his own party as by the opposition, because while advocating a policy which would mean free trade, he was sufficiently interested in one great industry of the country to realize better than his Southern brethren the

calamity which would have followed to American labor and industry had his policy been put in operation. In trying to reconcile his somewhat antagonistic views, the attention of Mr. Hewitt was called to some glaring inconsistencies contained in a speech of his and in a set of resolutions of which he was the author. He interrupted McKinley to explain that in order to preserve the iron and steel business we must do it by "a compensatory tariff." It was urged by the opposition that the compensatory tariff was not a protective tariff. McKinley yielded to him and the following took place:

MR. HEWITT. The compensation required in order to enable the iron business to exist in this country, as stated in my speech, is that which provides for the difference paid in the price of labor less the cost of transportation.

That is the gentleman's resolution.

MR. HEWITT. I have stated that doctrine in my resolution, and I adhere to it.

And yet in that connection, if the gentleman will permit me, he declared in his speech made here the other day, and to be found on page 2,436 of the Record:

Wages in this country are therefore not regulated by the tariff, because whatever wages can be earned by men in the production of agricultural products, the price of which is fixed abroad, must be the rate of wages which will be paid substantially in every other branch of business.

MR. HEWITT. Certainly.

That is what he said in his speech of but a week ago. Yet in the letter from which I have quoted, he declared

that the only need we have of protection is for the purpose of maintaining the rate of wages in the United States.

MR. HEWITT. As to the iron and steel business and protected industries, and in no other.

What is true of the iron and steel industries is true of every other industry that comes in competition with pauper labor of Europe—I care not what it is, cotton or wool, pottery or cutlery. If we have to compete with the pauper labor of Europe, and with the products of that labor, we need just as much relative protection in one branch of industry as we need in another.

One of the best hits McKinley made in debate was during the discussion of the Morrison bill. He happened to wind up a sentence by this remark:

"I speak for the workingmen of my district, the workingmen of Ohio and of the country."

It was in the spring of 1883, and McKinley had been re-elected in 1882 by a majority of only eight. Hence Springer caused a laugh on the Democratic side by injecting at this point:

"They did not speak for you very largely at the last election."

The laugh had hardly subsided when McKinley turned quickly around and, facing Springer, said:

Ah, my friend, my fidelity to my constituents is not measured by the support they give me! I have convictions upon this subject which I would not surrender or refrain from advocating if 10,000 majority had been entered against me last October; and if that is the standard of political morality and conviction and fidelity to

duty which is practiced by the gentleman from Illinois, I trust that the next House will not do, what I know they will not do, make him Speaker of the House. And I trust another thing, that that general remark, interjected here, coming from a man who has to sit in the next House, does not mean that he has already prejudged my case, which is to come before him as a judge.

These remarks were greeted with deafening applause from the Republican side. Even the Democrats enjoyed the plucky Congressman's reply to Mr. Springer.

McKinley was quite as much feared by Morrison in debate as Judge Kelley, who, at that time, of course, was the most experienced parliamentarian on the tariff question. In one of his debates with Morrison, the latter expressed the opinion that his bill would result not only in a considerable modification of the tariff, but in a substantial reduction. Hardly had these views been expressed when McKinley promptly said:

To these opinions we may add the following blunt but frank admission by the *London Spectator* on the eighth of December last:

"Of course the north of England holds that American free trade would be greatly to the interest of British manufacturers."

And this from the *Pall Mall Gazette:*

"The progress of the Morrison bill will be watched with considerable interest by English exporters to the American market, inasmuch as it can hardly fail to tend in their favor."

This deep solicitude of our English friends is, of course, unselfish and philanthropic; it is all for our benfit, for our good, for our prosperity. It is disinterested purely, and arises from the earnest wish of the English manufacturers to see our own grow and prosper.

They want this market. It is the best in the world. They can not get it wholly while our tariff remains as at present. They can not get it so long as our manufactures can be maintained. They must be destroyed, their fires must be put out, and this Congress is to-day engaged in an effort to help England, not America, to build up English manufacturers at the expense of our own.

Again McKinley in the course of debate said:

My friend from Illinois (Mr. Morrison) seemed to dissent a moment ago when I said there was a difference in the rate of wages.

Mr. Morrison. I did not, sir. There is a great difference in the rate of wages in some industries, and some difference in all.

This was the admission that McKinley was anxious to force from the opposition, and the following response to Mr. Morrison was promptly given:

I beg the gentleman's pardon. The gentleman from Illinois, in view of the statements I have made within the last five minutes, now admits there is a difference. I thank him for the frank confession.

Many people will recall the incident during the discussion of the Mills tariff bill, when McKinley drew from his desk a suit of clothes which had been purchased and paid for at the large clothing store of

the Honorable Leopold Morse of Boston, one of the free trade leaders. This episode is so good, and illustrates so well the most important point in favor of protection that it is given verbatim from the Congressional Record, including the reporters' notes of applause, laughter, etc.:

The expectation of cheaper clothes is not sufficient to justify the action of the majority. This is too narrow for a National issue. Nobody, so far as I have learned, has expressed dissatisfaction with the present price of clothing. It is a political objection; it is a party slogan. Certainly nobody is unhappy over the cost of clothing, except those who are amply able to pay even a higher price than is now exacted. And besides, if this bill should pass, and the effect would be (as it inevitably must be) to destroy our domestic manufactures, the era of low prices would vanish, and the foreign manufacturer would compel the American consumer to pay higher prices than he has been accustomed to pay under the "robber tariff" so-called.

Mr. Chairman, I represent a district comprising some 200,000 people, a large majority of the voters in the district being workingmen. I have represented them for a good many years, and I have never had a complaint from one of them that their clothes were too high. Have you? [Applause on the Republican side.] Has any gentleman on this floor met with such complaint in his district?

MR. MORSE—They did not buy them of me.

No! Let us see; if they had bought of the gentleman from Massachusetts it would have made no difference, and there could have been no complaint. Let us examine the matter.

[Mr. McKinley here produced a bundle containing a suit of clothes, which he opened and displayed, amid great laughter and applause.]

Come, now, will the gentleman from Massachusetts know his own goods? [Renewed laughter.] We recall, Mr. Chairman, that the Committee on Ways and Means talked about the laboring man who worked ten days at a dollar a day, and then went with his ten dollars wages to buy a suit of clothes. It is the old story. It is found in the works of Adam Smith. [Laughter and applause on the Republican side.] I have heard it in this House for ten years past. It has served many a free trader. It is the old story, I repeat, of the man who gets a dollar a day for his wages, and having worked for the ten days goes to buy his suit of clothes. He believes he can buy it for just $10, but the "robber manufacturers" have been to Congress and have got one hundred per cent put, upon the goods in the shape of a tariff, and the suit of clothes he finds can not be bought for $10, but he is asked $20 for it, and so he has to go back to ten days more of sweat, ten days more of toil, ten days more of wear and tear of muscle and brain to earn the $10 to purchase the suit of clothes. Then the Chairman gravely asks, is not ten days entirely annihilated?

Now, a gentleman who read that speech or heard it was so touched by the pathetic story that he looked into it and sent me a suit of clothes identical with that described by the gentleman from Texas, and he sent me also a bill for it, and here is the entire suit; "robber tariffs and taxes and all" have been added, and the retail cost is what? Just $10. [Laughter and applause on Republican side.] So the poor fellow does not have to go back to work ten days more to get that suit of clothes. He takes the suit with

him and pays for it just $10. [Applause.] But in order that there might be no mistake about it, knowing the honor and honesty of the gentleman from Massachusetts [Mr. Morse], he went to his store and bought the suit. [Laughter and cheers on the Republican side.] I hold in my hand the bill.

MR. STRUBLE. Read it.

MR. MCKINLEY (reading):

BOSTON, May 4, 1888.

J. D. Williams, bought of LEOPOLD MORSE & Co., men's youths' and boys' clothing, 131 to 137 Washington street, corner of Brattle—

I believe it is.

MR. MORSE. Yes, Brattle.

MR. MCKINLEY (reading):

To one suit of woolen clothes, $10. Paid.

[Renewed laughter and applause.]

And now, Mr. Chairman, I never knew of a gentleman engaged in this business who sold his clothes without profit. [Laughter.] And there is the same $10 suit described by the gentleman from Texas that can be bought in the city of Boston, can be bought in Philadelphia, in New York, in Chicago, in Pittsburg, anywhere throughout the country, at $10 retail the whole suit—coat, trousers and vest—and forty per cent less than it could have been bought in 1860 under your low tariff and low wages of that period. [Great applause.] It is a pity to destroy the sad picture of the gentleman from Texas which was to be used in the campaign, but the truth must be told. But do you know that if it were not for protection you would pay a great deal more for these clothes? I do not intend to go into that branch of the question, but I want to give one brief illustration of how the absence of Amer-

ican competition immediately sends up the foreign prices, and it is an illustration that every man will remember. My friend from Missouri [Mr. Clardy], who sits in front of me, will remember it. The Missouri Glass Company was organized several years ago for the manufacture of coarse fluted glass and cathedral glass. Last November the factory was destroyed by fire. Cathedral glass was their specialty. Within ten days from the time that splendid property was reduced to ashes, the foreign price of cathedral glass advanced twenty-eight per cent to the American consumer. [Applause on the Republican side.] Showing that whether you destroy the American production by free trade or by fire, it is the same thing; the prices go up to the American consumer, and all you can do is to pay the price the foreigner chooses to ask. [Renewed applause.]

Mr. Morse must have been very much disconcerted by the production of the actual suit of clothes and the receipt of his own firm in the halls of Congress. The incident, however, did not leave the sting nor engender the bitterness that some of these memorable passages of words have done in Congressional debates. Mr. Morse, no doubt, saw nonplussed at the time, but as he is a good-natured man he has undoubtedly forgiven McKinley and would enjoy a hearty laugh over the suit of clothes episode with the rest of those who were present when this rather dramatic scene was enacted.

Samuel J. Randall of Pennsylvania was Speaker when McKinley entered Congress, and they became warm friends. There was one memorable

scene in the Fiftieth Congress in which both figured. It occurred on May 18, 1888, the day on which the general debate closed on the Mills bill. Randall opposed this measure, and incurred the displeasure of the rampant free trade element, headed by Mills of Texas. He took the floor to speak against the bill. In feeble health, his voice at times almost inaudible, the great leader labored under serious disadvantages in this, his first fight for protection. Before he was thorough, his time expired, amid cries of "go on." Mr. Randall asked for an extension, but Mills with a discourtesy almost incredible, walked to the front and said: "I object!" The cry was repeated by nearly fifty Democratic members.

It was a sad sight to witness this great Democratic leader thus silenced upon a momentous question by his own party friends. There was an exciting scene. Members and spectators, for the galleries were crowded, joined in making the tumult. Amid it all, the Chairman announced that McKinley of Ohio had the floor. The latter was to close the debate on the Republican side. His desk was piled with memoranda and statistics.

"Mr. Speaker," he cried, and his voice stilled the din about him to silence. "I yield to the gentleman from Pennsylvania out of my time all that he may need in which to finish his speech on this bill."

Cheer after cheer arose from House and galleries, and by the courtesy of the Republican leader, the once leader of the Democracy was enabled to finish his speech in a body over which he had thrice presided as Speaker.

CHAPTER XIII.

NOMINATED FOR GOVERNOR.

Gerrymandered Out of His Congressional District—A Defeat that Was a Victory—Unanimously Nominated for Governor—An Ovation at Columbus—McKinley and Protection—Campaign Songs—Joint Debate With Campbell—Speaks in Eighty-four Out of the Eighty-eight Counties of Ohio—Elected Governor.

NO man was ever nominated with greater unanimity by his party than McKinley was for Governor in 1891. He had demonstrated in his Congressional district time and again his capacity to overcome adverse majorities. The Republicans of the State were on the lookout for some man who could overcome the Democratic State administration and again put Ohio safely in the Republican column.

In 1889 Hon. James E. Campbell, a Democratic ex-Congressman from Butler county, had been elected Governor by a plurality of 10,872. Mr. Campbell was a gentleman of great personal popularity and possessed considerable skill both as a speaker and an organizer. It was his ambition to make Ohio a permanently Democratic State, and during a visit East, in 1890, he had boasted that this had been accomplished. The Ohio campaign of 1890 was a heated one. The Democratic Legislature had

"gerrymandered" the State most unfairly. The apportionment had been so arranged that even though the Republicans carried the State at large by 20,000 plurality, they would not get more than seven out of the twenty-one Congressmen.

McKinley, whose district had twice before been "gerrymandered," was this time put into a strong Democratic district. McKinley's standard and record were so high even among his Democratic opponents, that Governor Campbell privately protested against this injustice, he being far-sighted enough to see that it would have a reactionary effect against the Democracy. The new district in which McKinley was placed (Sixteenth) was composed of Holmes, Medina, Wayne and Stark counties, having a combined normal Democratic majority of nearly 3,000 In 1889 Mr. Campbell had carried this district by 2,900 majority.

The fight in Ohio in 1890 was mainly in the several Congressional districts, but the hottest fight of all was in McKinley's district. He had pitted against him a very reputable gentleman, Hon. J. G. Warwick, who, in 1883, had been elected on the Democratic ticket as Lieutenant-Governor. Mr. Warwick was not an orator, but for personal reasons was credited with ability to poll the full Democratic vote. The whole resources of the Democratic party, State and National, were used in his favor. The adroit politician, Mr. Hill of New York, went into his district to help him. McKinley's prominence in tariff legislation, particularly with regard to the newly

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framed protection law, made the fight of National interest. The campaign he made was remarkable for energy and ability. Against what seemed to be overwhelming odds, he almost overcame the majority against him, Mr. Warwick being elected by only 302.

The Democrats resorted to all sorts of schemes to prevent McKinley being elected. The story is told that they engaged peddlers to go through Holmes county and offer five-cent tin cups and plates at twenty-five cents each, charging that the great increase of price was owing to the passage of the "McKinley law." In the State at large, the campaign was made entirely upon the tariff issue. The Republicans did not dodge, but accepted the challenge of their opponents and put the Democracy on the defensive.

The result was that the head of the Republican State ticket (Hon. Daniel J. Ryan, candidate for re-election as Secretary of State) was elected by 10,969. This was a Republican gain in one year of nearly 22,000. As above explained, it was almost a mathematical impossibility, under the Democratic "gerrymander," for the Republicans to secure a fair proportion of Congressmen. Out of the twenty-one they elected only seven, wresting one from what the Democrats considered their sure districts. Although the Republicans elected only just one-half as many Congressmen as the Democrats did, their combined vote for Congressmen exceeded the combined Democratic vote for Congressmen throughout the State by about 20,000. Two days after the election, the

Republican State Committee issued a congratulatory address in which they said:

In no State in the Union has the tariff battle been so squarely fought as in Ohio. There have been no other complications as in other States to defeat the Republican forces. It has been a fair fight for the protection principle, pure and simple, and the people of Ohio have again decided in favor of American as against foreign interests.

The fight concentrated in Ohio, and particularly in the Sixteenth Congressional district, where Major McKinley was forced to contend against a majority of 3,000. No compromise was allowed and no quarter asked; and there, as in other Congressional districts, the Republicans have been practically victorious. You should, therefore, rejoice, take new courage for the future, and prepare at once for the battle of next year. Our party has never been defeated when it fought for a principle. It is as emphatically committed to the principle of protection to American industries and American labor as it was to that of the preservation of the Union in 1861-63. It must continue to wage that fight on principle, and it will inevitably and gloriously win.

From the very day of election of 1890 there was a strong sentiment throughout the State in favor of the nomination of McKinley for Governor in the following year. There was no organized movement to effect this purpose. It was not necessary. When this sentiment had found expression in declarations by newspapers and by prominent Republicans, the question was presented to McKinley by one of his Congressional friends. He stated that while he

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would feel highly honored by the nomination for Governor, yet he would not enter into any contest for it.

At the meeting of the Legislature in January, 1891, the Republican members brought to Columbus with them the sentiment of their respective communities. This sentiment was overwhelmingly in favor of McKinley's nomination. Enterprising newspaper correspondents interviewed the Republican members of the Legislature, and there was a unanimous expression in favor of McKinley. From that time on speculation as to gubernatorial candidates ceased, as did all opposition, whatever little there was, to the nomination of McKinley.

Confidence in Republican success became strong, and an unusually large number of candidates for nomination on the Republican State ticket presented themselves before the convention, which was held in Columbus in June; but there was only one name mentioned for the gubernatorial nomination—that of William McKinley.

When McKinley arrived at Columbus, he received a great ovation. In many respects the State Convention was the grandest held in Ohio since the war. Ex-Governor Foraker put McKinley in nomination in a speech of great brilliancy. Upon motion of ex-Governor Foster, McKinley was unanimously nominated.

The Apollo Glee Club of Columbus sang "McKinley's the Man," the words and music being composed by Mr. Wash. T. Porter, specially for the Glee Club

of the Young Men's Blaine Club of Cincinnati. After that, Mr. Sargent of Cambridge, Ohio, a professional song-maker, captured the convention with a new production entitled "McKinley and Protection." Both songs were adopted as the "slogans" of the campaign clubs throughout the State, and very few Republican political meetings were held during the campaign without their being sung. As they are highly illustrative of the spirit of the great Republican campaign of 1891, they are here reproduced in full:

McKINLEY'S THE MAN.

The people of the Buckeye State did this year nominate
A man to rule them whom they call the Gov'nor of the State,
But now the idea uppermost in ev'rybody's mind
Is to elect our nominee; he's of the first-class kind.

CHORUS.

McKinley's the man, McKinley's the man, McKinley's the man for Governor,
McKinley's the man, McKinley's the man, McKinley's the man for Governor,
For Governor, for Governor, for Governor of the State of Ohio;
Oh, he's the man for Governor, for Governor of Ohio;
McKinley's the man, McKinley's the man, McKinley's the man for Governor,
McKinley's the man, McKinley's the man, McKinley's the man for Governor,
For Governor, for Governor, for Governor of our Ohio;
Oh, he's the man for Governor, for Governor of our Ohio.

Just now from ev'ry quarter of this glorious Buckeye State
There comes a call for one we all know will not hesitate
To answer to his party's call and take the helm of State,
McKinley, he of Tariff fame, 'twas best to nominate.

We'll sweep the State, and carry off a glorious victory
With "Governor McKinley," leader of the G. O. P.
So let us now elect him Ruler of this grand old State,
And prove to all McKinley was the man to nominate.

So now we've nominated this great son of Ohio,
To rule us next two years and give the Democrats no show,
And "later on" the man to rule the whole U. S. you know,
Will be our own McKinley true, the pride of Ohio.

McKINLEY AND PROTECTION.

Of all the mighty Nations
In the East or in the West,
This glorious Yankee Nation
Is the greatest and the best.
With a tariff for protection
To all the laborers in the land;
Uncle Sam is doing business
At the same old stand.

CHORUS.

Then come along, come along,
Rally for the fray,
McKinley and protection
Are bound to win the day.
Our factories are booming,
There is plenty in the land;
Uncle Sam is doing business
At the same old stand.

The South can raise the cotton,
And the West the corn and pork,
Then our million manufactories
Can do the finer work.
Just see the smoke ascending
As you travel through the land;
Uncle Sam is doing business
At the same old stand.

(Chorus.)
There is mourning in old England,
In their free-trade Cobden Club;
They can't compete with Uncle Sam—
Protection—that's the rub.
Old Johnny Bull is hustling,
But we hold the winning hand;
Uncle Sam is doing business
At the same old stand.

We set our tables, furnish them
From napkin to tureen,
And serve the finest Yankee meals
From oxtail to ice cream,
And each and every article
Is the product of our land;
Uncle Sam is doing business
At the same old stand.

How happy is the farmer
When he drives his stock to town,
For prices all are going up
And sugar tumbling down.
The laborer's dinner basket, now,
Is made within our land;
Uncle Sam is doing business
At the same old stand.

Our iron horse is whistling
For Jerusalem the Grand,
Our harvesters are threshing wheat
Way down in Egypt land.
The wide world is our market
And they cry at every hand,
Uncle Sam is doing business
At the same old stand.

McKinley's speech of acceptance was a dignified and able presentation of the issues of the day—particularly as to the currency and tariff—and elicited

great enthusiasm. Senator Sherman followed in one of his characteristic strong speeches.

Below are the leading planks of the platform unanimously adopted.

1. We reaffirm our devotion to the patriotic doctrine of protection, and recognize the McKinley bill as the ablest expression of that principle enacted in fulfillment of Republican promises, and we pledge ourselves to its support, always having in view its improvement as changed conditions or experience may require.

2. We favor such legislation by Congress and in the States as will, in every practical mode, encourage, protect and promote the interest of agriculture in all its departments; protection of labor and the rights of laborers such as will grant to toil its full and just rewards, is among the first obligations of government.

3. We demand protection for the wool industry equal to that accorded the most favored manufacturer of wool, so that in due time American wool growers will supply all wool of every kind required for consumption in the United States.

4. Thoroughly believing that gold and silver should form the basis of all circulating mediums, we endorse the amended coinage act of the last Republican Congress, by which the entire production of the silver mines of the United States is added to the currency of the people.

5. We demand, and will continue to demand, until finally and absolutely secured, the free exercise by every citizen of the supreme and sovereign right to cast one ballot at lawful elections and have it honestly counted.

6. While inviting to our shores the worthy poor and

oppressed of other nations, we demand the enactment of laws that will protect our country and our people against the influx of the vicious and criminal classes of foreign nations, and the importation of laborers under contract to compete with our own citizens, and earnestly approve the rigid enforcement of existing laws by the present National administration.

The formal opening of the campaign did not take place until August 22; but in the interim McKinley spoke on a number of occasions, at soldiers' reunions, "harvest homes," etc. It was at Niles, Trumbull county, that the formal opening of the campaign took place. Niles is McKinley's birthplace, and its selection was a matter largely of sentiment; but politically, also, its choice was a wise one, and there was an enormous attendance. There was a big political and industrial parade, which was reviewed by the gubernatorial candidate from the veranda of the house in which he was born. A feature of the parade and decorations was the lavish and ingenious display of American tin-plate, so as to make manifest the successful establishment of the tin-plate industry under the "McKinley law." This feature was conspicuous all through the campaign. From the day of his nomination until the election, he made 130 speeches and visited 84 out of the 88 counties of the State. In its mere physical aspect, this was an unprecedented record, and probably the most notable.

CHAPTER XIV.

NATIONAL CONVENTION OF 1892.

McKinley in Favor of Harrison's Nomination—Is Made Chairman of the Convention—Republican Conventions Say What They Mean and Mean What They Say—Able Presentation of the Political Issues—Loyal to Harrison—A Lively Debate—Moves to Make President Harrison's Nomination Unanimous—Receives 182 Votes for President.

SOME time before the Republican National Convention of 1892, McKinley had privately and publicly expressed himself as in favor of the renomination of President Harrison. This he did not only as a matter of personal preference, but because he thought the best interests of the country demanded Mr. Harrison's renomination; and furthermore, because the President's course deserved the honor. Having committed himself, McKinley stood by his declaration clear through. He was elected a delegate-at-large as a Harrison man, and the understanding was that Ohio would vote solidly for the President's renomination.

The convention made McKinley its permanent chairman. Hon. R. M. Nevin of Dayton was his alternate. Before he took the chair as presiding

officer, McKinley specifically charged Mr. Nevin to vote for Harrison.

Following is Governor McKinley's speech as chairman:

I thank you for the honor of presiding over the Ninth Annual convention of the Republican party. Republican conventions mean something. They have always meant something. Republican conventions say what they mean and mean what they say. They declare principles, and policies, and purposes, and when entrusted with power execute and enforce them. The first National convention of the Republican party met thirty-six years ago in the city of Philadelphia. The platform of that great convention reads to-day more like inspiration than the affirmation of a political party. Every provision of that great instrument made by the fathers of our party is on the public statutes of our country to-day. Every one of them has been embodied into public law, and that cannot be said of the platform of any other political organization in this or any other country of the world. Whenever there is anything to be done in this country and by this country and for this country, the Republican party is called upon to do it. There is one thing that can be said about our organization that can not be said about any other—it can look backward without shame or humiliation, and it can look forward with cheer and exultation. That can not be said of any political organization other than ours in the United States.

Gentlemen of the convention, we are here to-day to make a platform and a ticket that will commend themselves to the conscience and the intelligence and the judgment of the American people. And we will do it. Whatever is done by this convention, either as to plat-

form or as to ticket, will receive the approval of the American people in November of this year.

We have already heard some of the notes of victory, for this is a Republican year. Rhode Island has spoken. Only yesterday Oregon spoke, electing three representatives—three Republican representatives to the Congress of the United States—and when we get through with this convention its conclusions will be the law of Republican action, as they will be the assurance of Republican victory. We are for a protective tariff and for reciprocity. We propose to take no backward step upon either of these great Republican principles. We stand for a protective tariff because it represents the American home, the American fireside, the American family, the American girl and the American boy, and the highest possibilities of American citizenship. We propose to raise our money to pay public expenses by taxing the products of other nations, rather than by taxing the products of our own. The Democratic party believe in direct taxation, that is, in taxing ourselves, but we don't believe in the principle so long as we can find somebody else to tax. Our protective tariff not only does everything which a revenue tariff can do in raising all needed revenue, but a protective tariff does more than that. A protective tariff encourages and stimulates American industries, and gives the widest possibilities to American genius and American effort. Does anybody know what tariff reform is? And that is to be the platform of our political opponents this year. What does it mean? You can study President Cleveland's utterances from the first one he made in New York when he said he didn't know anything about the tariff until his last in Rhode Island, and you come away ignorant and uninformed as to what tariff reform means. Since

the war there have been three great tariff reform bills proposed by the Democratic leaders, none of them alike, neither of them with the same free list, neither of them with the same tariff list, neither of them with the same rates of duty, but all made by the Democratic party upon the same principle, to symbolize and represent tariff reform.

You may go to Mr. Mills, you may go to Mr. Springer, and you will find they differ totally; but you may go to the House of Representatives at Washington, which was elected distinctively upon what they call a tariff reform issue, with two-thirds majority in the House, and what do you find? They passed three bills. Let me name them. First, free tin plate, leaving sheet steel, from which it is made, tariffed. That is, the finished product free and the raw material bearing duty. Second, free wool to the manufacturer, and tariffed cloth to the consumer. Third, free cotton ties to the cotton States, and tariffed hoop iron to all the rest of the States. That is their idea of tariff reform.

Gentlemen of the convention, how do you like it? This contest that we enter upon is for the maintenance of reciprocity; and I want to say here that there is not a line in that tariff bill that is not American; there is not a page that does not represent true Americanism and the highest possibilities of American citizenship.

We are to declare ourselves upon other questions here to-day. We are to declare ourselves upon the question of a free ballot and a fair count. No platform should ever be made that does not reiterate that great constitutional guaranty; no Republican speech should ever be made that does not insist firmly and resolutely that the great constitutional guaranty shall be a living birthright, not a

cold formality of constitutional enactment, but a living thing which the poorest and humblest may confidently enjoy and which the richest and most powerful dare not deny.

We can well leave to the Committee on Resolutions the duty of making a platform that shall represent the best thoughts and the best ideas and the best wisdom of the Republican party. When we go out of this convention upon a true Republican platform, we may go out marching to victory, no matter what name may carry the banner.

This speech was certainly a masterful representation of the issues before the country in 1892.

Only one ballot was taken on the nomination for President. When Ohio was called, ex-Governor Foraker, one of the delegates-at-large from that State, said that Ohio asked time for consultation.

After a pause, Mr. Nash, one of the district delegates and chairman of the Ohio delegation, announced the vote of his State as: Harrison, 2 votes; William McKinley, 44 votes.

Chairman McKinley sprang up from his seat and shouted:

"I challenge the vote of Ohio!"

The following debate then ensued:

Mr. Foraker—The gentleman is not a member of this delegation at present.

Chairman McKinley—I am a member of that delegation.

Mr. Ambler—The gentleman has left the delega-

tion to assume a higher position, and has substituted an alternate.

Mr. Foraker—The gentleman's alternate has taken his place in the delegation and the gentleman is not recognized as a member of the delegation now, and we make that point of order.

The Chairman—The chair overrules the point of order, and asks the secretary to call the roll of Ohio.

Reading Clerk Hanley called the roll, which resulted: McKinley, 44; Harrison, 2.

Mr. Alsdorf, alternate for Mr. Cooper of Ohio—I announced my vote as for Harrison. I wish to have it changed to William McKinley, Jr. (Cheers.)

Mr. Nevin of Ohio—That there may be no mistake about it, I want to say that, as the alternate for William McKinley, Jr., and at his request, I voted for Benjamin Harrison.

Reading Clerk Stone — Ohio: McKinley, 45; Harrison, 1.

Following is the vote by States and Territories:

States.	Total.....	Harrison..	Blaine.....	McKinley..	Reed.....	...
Alaska	2	2				
Alabama	22	15		7		
Arkansas	16	15		1		
California	18	8	9	1		
Colorado	8		8			
Connecticut	12	4		8		
Delaware	6	4	1	1		
Florida	8	8				
Georgia	26	26				
Illinois	48	34	14			
Indiana	30	30				
Iowa	26	20	5	1		
Kansas	20	11		9		
Kentucky	26	22	2	1		
Louisiana	16	8	8			
Maine	12		12			
Maryland	16	14	2			
Massachusetts	30	18	1	11		
Michigan	28	7	2	19		
Minnesota	18	8	9	1		
Mississippi	18	13½	4½			
Missouri	34	28	4	2		
Nebraska	16	15		1		
Nevada	6		6			
New Hampshire	8	4	2		1	1
New Jersey	20	18	2			
New York	72	27	35	10		
North Carolina	22	17⅔	2⅔	1		
Ohio	46	1		45		
Oregon	8	1		7		
Pennsylvania	64	19	3	42		
Rhode Island	8	5	1	1	1	
South Carolina	18	13	3	2		
Tennessee	24	17	4	3		
Texas	30	22	6		2	
Vermont	8	8				
Virginia	24	9	13	2		
West Virginia	12	12				
Wisconsin	24	19	2	3		
South Dakota	8	8				
North Dakota	6	2	4			
Montana	6	5	1			
Washington	8	1	6	1		
Idaho	6		6			
Wyoming	6	4	2			
Arizona	2	1	1			
New Mexico	6	6*				
Oklahoma	2	2				
District of Columbia	2		2			
Utah	2	2				
Indian Territory	2	1	1			

Total number of votes, 904⅓; Harrison, 535 1-6; McKinley, 182; Reed, 4; Lincoln, 1.

Necessary for choice, 459.

When the vote of Texas had been announced, Chairman McKinley invited Mr. Elliott F. Shepard of New York to preside, and then he took the floor and moved that Benjamin Harrison be nominated for President of the United States by acclamation. Mr. Clarkson of Iowa seconded the motion. An objection, however, being made because the roll-call was in progress, Governor McKinley withdrew his motion, but after the roll-call was completed the motion was again put, and the nomination was made unanimous.

McKinley was chosen chairman of the committee that officially notified the President of his nomination.

CHAPTER XV.

AGAIN ELECTED GOVERNOR.

Effects of the Cleveland Panic—Hon. L. T. Neal's Assertions—A Lively Campaign—With a Clean, Able Record as Governor, McKinley Again Faces the People of Ohio—Opening Meeting at Akron—Elected by the Largest Vote Ever Given for a Candidate—A Flattering Resolution.

THE second gubernatorial campaign opened at a time when not only the State of Ohio but the Nation was suffering from the effects of the Cleveland panic. The Democrats had been twelve months in office, but the disastrous results following the threatened repeal of the McKinley tariff, brought upon the Nation a panic which prostrated industries, threw wage earners of all kinds out of work, disturbed the finances of the country and brought bankruptcy and distress to a prosperous Nation. At one of his opening speeches of this State campaign, McKinley said, in answer to the assertions of the Hon. L. T. Neal, his competitor, that all these things had happened when the McKinley bill was still in force. "But you have still the protective tariff," they say. Yes, but you are pledged to repeal it and the man who receives notice that his house is about to be demolished does not wait until the dynamite is

put in, but moves out his furniture as soon as he can. Now, what will start your factories?" The above remarks were made in a speech before an enormous meeting at East Liverpool, Ohio, October 16, 1893. At this juncture a voice from the audience yelled out, "Hundred thousand majority for McKinley in November."

The uproar which followed this was simply deafening. McKinley was unable to proceed with his speech for some time. When able to do so, he said: "What is a lower tariff for? It is to make it easier for foreign goods to get in the United States, to increase competition from abroad. You can not buy your goods and make them at home as well. No good farmer thinks of having his neighbor's sons to do his work when he has half a dozen boys at home idle. I do not believe in buying any kind of goods abroad that we can make here when we have a million of unemployed men at home." Continuing, McKinley said:

My competitor says protection is a "foul blot on the fair escutcheon of our country." If it is, then George Washington, Thomas Jefferson, Alexander Hamilton, Andrew Jackson and Thomas Benton put that "foul blot" upon the fair page of American history; the men who made this government put this first "foul blot" upon the statute books of the United States. The protective tariff a "foul blot?" What has it done? For thirty-two years we have collected our revenue from this source, and with this revenue have subdued the most gigantic rebellion recorded in human annals. We have

paid a greater public debt than was ever paid in the same period by any government in the world. With this revenue we paid more liberal pensions than in any other country. And that is not all. During those thirty-two years we raised this country from the lowest to the highest ranks in agriculture, and in mining, and in manufactures, of all nations in this wide, wide world. It is a remarkable spectacle. The people who voted for a change last fall are not satisfied, and the people who did not vote for a change are not satisfied. We find Democrats petitioning to have the tariff left undisturbed. There are a good many of them who have looked into it since. Those who wanted a change got it, and now they have it they are not satisfied with it.

Another strong point made during the Ohio campaign of 1893, and which forcibly illustrates McKinley's plan of campaign, was as follows:

In the midst of unexampled plenty, with no inflation of prices, for prices had never been so low; with no inflation of money, with every dollar in circulation as good as every other dollar, with no premium on gold, we are struck by business depression from ocean to ocean. What has occasioned this? Is it the money of the country? We have more money to-day than we ever had in all our history, and we have as good money as we ever had before. Every dollar is worth 100 cents, and every dollar is good to pay all debts—private or public. We have everything we had last year but prosperity. We bartered that away for a change of administration. If the President were here to-night he would not have to inquire whether we are making tin in the United States. These tin horns here tell the story, and I doubt not every

one of them is made from American tin, which two years ago they said we could not make in the United States. This year we have the same men, same money, same machinery and the same markets that we had last year, but we have another management. We have the same enterprise, same energy, same magnificent manufacturing plants, but the people last year decided for a change of policy.

These two extracts illustrate the effective manner in which the second gubernatorial campaign was conducted. It should be borne in mind that McKinley's State administrations had been strong, clear and patriotic. The opinion throughout the State was so general that he had administered this important executive office with great ability and on strict business principles, that the people were glad to have him again accept this high office of honor and trust. It was simply impossible for the opposition to pick any flaw in the administration of State affairs, and therefore the campaign which McKinley conducted, to a large extent on National issues, was made by his antagonist on these issues, and naturally McKinley was able to demolish his arguments at every point.

In consequence of this, at the Republican State convention held at Columbus, June 7 and 8, 1893, McKinley was renominated by acclamation. Among the resolutions adopted was the following:

The people of Ohio have a just pride in the administration of the affairs of this State by Governor William

McKinley, Jr. He brought to the discharge of his duties as Governor, great learning, ability and statesmanship, and an honest and patriotic purpose, and he has always shown himself capable, faithful and wise. We heartily endorse his administration, and assure him of our great esteem and confidence.

As in 1891, McKinley prosecuted his campaign with marked ability and great energy, and he aroused tremendous enthusiasm. The opening meeting, which was held at Akron, Summit county, was one of the largest political demonstrations ever held in the State. He defeated his Democratic opponent, Hon. L. T. Neal, by the phenomenal plurality of 80,995, on the largest vote that up to that time had ever been cast in Ohio.

Although General Asa S. Bushnell, who succeeds McKinley, was elected this year by a somewhat larger majority, his actual vote fell several thousands below that of the McKinley vote of 1893. This second great victory, based, as it was, so largely upon the tariff issue, naturally attracted the attention of the country to McKinley as a presidential possibility. As another chapter will be devoted to McKinley as an executive officer and to his management of the affairs of the State of Ohio during his four years of governorship, it is not necessary to more than refer briefly to the State campaign of 1893. That the majority of the people of the State of Ohio were satisfied with the manner in which McKinley administered State affairs was evident

from the fact that towards the close they gave him loyal and enthusiastic endorsement for President.

The Republicans of Ohio, in State convention at Zanesville, May 29, 1895, adopted the following as one of the planks of their platform:

"The people of Ohio are proud of the character and career of their distinguished fellow-citizen, William McKinley. A pure, patriotic, unselfish life of public service has endeared him to the Republicans of the Nation, and justly won him a place among the few chosen by popular acclaim for high station and great leadership. Believing him to possess, in eminent degree, those rare qualities of broad, wise and patriotic statesmanship, which not only fit him for victorious leadership in a great campaign, but for successful administration after election, we present William McKinley to the Republicans of the Nation as a candidate for the nomination for President in 1896, and we pledge him the absolute and unswerving support of Ohio at the next National convention."

It will thus be seen that the second term of William McKinley as Governor terminated with the general expression of public opinion of the State that he should be promoted to the Presidency of the United States.

CHAPTER XVI.

McKINLEY, THE MAN.

Physically a Paradox—A Shapely Head and Good Shoulders—A Good Dancer and Delightful Partner—Probably Made More Speeches and Addressed a Greater Number of People than any Man in the World—The Record of His Strength and Vitality—His Habits of Life—A Plain Liver—Patience and Self-control Strong Characteristics.

PHYSICALLY, William McKinley is somewhat of a paradox. Ordinarily, he has very good health, and he is capable of marvelous endurance. Yet he takes but little exercise. He possesses the family characteristic physically. Several times, during his gubernatorial term, McKinley's physician at Columbus prescribed a mild dose of exercise as a cure for attacks of malaria or indigestion. McKinley would take a walk around the State House, and up a street for a square or so, a total distance of say half a mile, and would return to his hotel all in a glow, and he would really think that he had performed quite a feat of pedestrianism. On these trips he always liked to be accompanied by a personal friend. The fact is, a half-mile walk seemed to have as much effect on this man, in the way of beneficial exercise, as a regular gymnasium course has upon most men.

Although inclined to "stockiness" in build—with, indeed, a tendency to corpulency—McKinley is shapely and well-proportioned. His head is well set on a stout neck and a fine pair of shoulders; his chest is full, showing strong lung capacity. His legs are sturdy. He is muscular naturally. The fact is not generally known that McKinley is possessed of great physical strength. Had he gone into systematic training when a young man, he would have made a champion wrestler. In the free-and-easy swing of his shoulders, moving in harmony with the erect, gracefully poised head, and in the springiness and yet firmness of his step, McKinley walks like an athlete. The personification of dignity in his bearing, there are few matured men of his physical build who are so buoyant in movement as he. It is only on very rare occasions that McKinley dances; but fortunate is the young lady who secures him for a partner, as not only is he a veritable beau ideal in gallantry, but he is almost youthful in ease, lightness and elasticity of step.

McKinley's marvelous powers of endurance have been mostly manifested in political campaigns, particularly from and including the gubernatorial contest of 1891. It is certainly safe to say that during the last five years, McKinley has spoken to more people than any other living man during an equal length of time; and it is probably true that he has during his life made more speeches and addressed a greater number of people than any other man in the world. Nothing like his campaign of 1891 had ever

M'KINLEY AMONG THE IRON AND STEEL WORKERS.

before been seen in Ohio. Then, and a number of times since, he has performed feats in traveling and speaking that seem almost incredible. For a couple of months he would be considered good for one set speech a day, with two hundred miles a day of travel. Then, as the campaign warmed, he would deliver two set speeches a day, with several informal talks as side issues not on the regular programme. And when the campaign got to white heat, he has taken a special train from town to town, speaking four, six, ten, a dozen, and even fifteen times a day. This he has done not only in Ohio, but in a number of other States, particularly in the West. His friends have wondered how he could stand the fatigue not only of talking, but of traveling. He would return from a trip of hundreds of miles with scores of speeches made, and after a bath and a shave he would be as fresh as when he started out.

The secret of McKinley's physical strength and vitality is: a splendid constitution, good digestion, and ability to sleep under almost any conditions. He comes of a hardy race—the Scotch-Irish; and his family is a healthful, robust, long-lived one. But to hereditary attributes must be added that which comes from good habits and a clean life. While there is nothing of the ascetic about McKinley, he is a "plain liver," and from personal experience he does not know what excess means, although occasionally the doctor will advise him to place a closer limitation upon the number of cigars he smokes a day. McKinley likes "home cooking," and he prefers the

old-fashioned rule for the head of the family to carve and serve his viands. He always wants a cigar immediately after eating—and this applies to all meals.

Gentleness and consideration for others are the distinguishing traits of McKinley's character. Probably this is as much a matter of education as of natural attributes. As has been shown, for over a score of years he has been a devoted attendant upon a delicate wife, whose heroic patience under suffering would appeal with irresistible force to a man of the chivalrous instincts of McKinley. He has always remained the gallant and ardent lover as of the days of early romance; and this affection has been beatified and glorified by an all-pervading and ever-present sentiment of tender care and guardianship. Unquestionably this gentle sentiment towards his wife has had a great influence in the shaping and development of his character. It is probably responsible for the habitual expression of his face—a quietness approaching to gravity—not the sadness of a Lincoln or the dark solemnity of a Napoleon—but rather the introspective seriousness of the religious recluse. With a natural tendency towards phlegmaticism; this one great idea of incessant devotion has no doubt been of inestimable service to McKinley in the formation of his mental and moral fibre. Patience and self-control always abide with him. He philosophically brushes aside the small trials and annoyances of daily life.

CHAPTER XVII.

McKINLEY AS A SPEAKER.

McKinley's Reserve Power—Absolute Enforcement of Law and Order—His Method of Making Appointments—His Mastery of the Tariff Makes his Speeches Interesting—Argumentative, Appealing and Conciliating—He Never Abuses his Adversary—The Best Vote-Winner on the Stump.

LIKE Lincoln, McKinley believes that the best road is that which offers the fewest obstacles—so long as the road is the right road; and that it is sometimes easier to plow around the stump than it is to try to pull the stump up. Still, this yielding to non-essentials does not imply a sacrifice of principle. No man can be firmer than he when duty so requires. As in his physical make-up, so in his mental and moral nature. He has a vast reserve power. When a fair and square issue arises, he is firm to the degree of stubbornness; and when after careful and probably long consideration, he has finally made up his mind, he has a rock-like immovability. His very nature makes him inclined to use the gloved hand, but should it be necessary he will not hesitate to expose the steel beneath the velvet covering.

Ohio never had a Governor who more promptly

and efficiently responded to the calls for troops to aid the civil authority in upholding the laws of the State than McKinley, and it is a remarkable fact that during the last two years of his administration he probably has had more calls for the use of troops than have been made during any ten other years since the war. It is a noteworthy testimony to the confidence and esteem in which he is held by the people of Ohio that there has always been practically a universal approval of his action in ordering out the militia—and this is true even as to the communities in which the outbreaks occurred, when these communities had had time to recover from the passion which inflamed them.

No Governor was ever held in higher esteem by his subordinates in a State administration than McKinley. His habit is to be very deliberate and careful in making appointments, and then to trust his appointees implicitly. His confidence can not be easily shaken, but when the evidence of wrongdoing has been made clear to him, the revelation has been a great shock. Then it was that the iron in his nature asserted itself, and no guilty man escaped so far as he was concerned; but he has always wanted to believe the best possible of every man.

It is sometimes suggested that McKinley is not a good judge of men. Rather should it be said of him that his rule is that if he can not say anything good of a man, he will say nothing. He can afford to be deceived sometimes rather than to think every man a rascal. Still, McKinley is not likely to be often

BEGINNING A SPEECH.

imposed upon, as he is a keen though quiet student of human nature.

McKinley is a good listener—so much so that he has gained somewhat of a reputation for taciturnity. While his manner is courtly and even gracious, he is the opposite of effusive. Notwithstanding his extensive and varied experience as a central figure on great occasions, he frequently has to struggle against a manifestation of that embarrassment which springs from self-consciousness. If ever a living man ought to be accustomed to handshaking and being stared at, it is William McKinley, and yet he told the writer once, on the occasion of a "church social," that when the good brethren and sisters came around him with kindly greetings, he felt as if he wanted to run away. John B. Gough, the prince of platform orators, once told the writer that he always had a fit of trembling just as he was about to face his audience.

The habitual quietness of McKinley's expression has led some indifferent observers to charge him with austerity. Not long ago a newspaper correspondent declared that McKinley never smiled. The truth is, there is a great deal of quiet humor in McKinley's make-up, and when the reserve of officialdom or of public function is removed, he loves to tell or listen to a good story; and among his intimates it is well understood that to be teased by him is to be given a proof of partiality. The genial humor and kindliness of McKinley are never so abundantly manifested as when he has young people around him. Then it is that fun just bubbles from him.

As a public speaker, McKinley stands in the front rank. Even those who say that he can make only one speech must admit that he can make that one well. But such a criticism is not fairly taken. The truth is that few men in political life have delivered speeches upon such a variety of subjects as has McKinley. True, the tariff is his specialty—but he makes a creditable presentation of any subject he handles. Indeed, McKinley never makes a poor speech. A few years ago a volume of speeches by McKinley was published. This volume contains sixty-five speeches. About one-fifth of them are on the tariff, and the rest include the subjects of labor, equal suffrage, pensions, finance, civil service reform, education, patriotism and religion. Probably no living American, with the exception of Mr. Depew, has during the last four years delivered such a variety of set and impromptu speeches as McKinley.

In his specialty, the tariff, he stands the undisputed master. His attractiveness in the presentation of this question is only equaled by the consistency and tenacity of his view thereon. There is no hall which McKinley cannot fill when he is announced to speak upon his favorite theme. Naturally, it is a dry, unattractive subject for popular discussion. He must be a genius who can extract anything thrilling from the tariff, and yet McKinley presents it with peculiar fascination to the plain people. It must be conceded that there are a number of American orators who are much more eloquent than McKinley, but there is not one among them who can so continuously, day after

A FEW WORDS FROM M'KINLEY.

day, week after week, during a campaign, hold his hearers spell-bound and so impress them as McKinley can.

Wherein is McKinley's strength as a speaker upon the tariff? The answer seems to be: First, his evident sincerity; and, secondly, his simplicity in the presentation of his argument. There is very little of the ornate in his style, but still it is graceful. It is eminently epigrammatic, yet not mosaic, for the sentences are not only well rounded, but are well connected and are forcefully arranged, so that the climax stands upon a broad and firm foundation of argument and fact.

Not only has he a splendid voice, but his pronunciation is charming. A lady once remarked that it was worth going to one of McKinley's meetings just to hear him say "Ohio."

One reason why McKinley is so successful in handling the tariff is because he does the mental work for his hearers. He does not throw down a cart-load of tabulated figures and leave his auditors to solve the problem by addition, subtraction or division. He does that himself. It is wonderful what an interesting story he can extract from a page of hard, dry figures.

From a rhetorical standpoint, Ohio has produced greater "stumpers" than McKinley. Tom Corwin hardly had his peer anywhere since the war. A more recent example is General Gibson. The latter was, perhaps, fully equal to Gough in startling realism. He appealed altogether to the emotions.

Gibson was an excellent man to send to Republican strongholds to "rouse up the boys." McKinley's style is entirely different from that of Corwin or Gibson. McKinley is argumentative, appealing and conciliatory. He never abuses his adversary, or if he does, it is with so much adroitness that the adversary never notices it, and consequently his feelings are not hurt. Thus it is that the politicians of his State, irrespective of party, declare that McKinley is "the greatest vote-getter in America." The State Committee assigns McKinley to the Democratic and "doubtful" districts, for he not only gets out the full Republican vote, but he wins over votes from the enemy.

McKinley's personal appearance is a great aid to his power as a platform speaker. He always wears a black frock coat buttoned all the way down. His face is pale, and he unconsciously assumes a statuesque pose. At first, he is slow of utterance and low of voice. This is a method with him, for he has learned that he can only get at the full strength of his voice and maintain it by reaching it gradually. By-and-by his voice grows louder. It takes but a few minutes for him to measure the acoustic properties of the hall and know to a nicety (that comes only from experience) to what key to pitch his voice. Then it rings out with a bell-like clearness, and cuts through and circles around the mightiest of throngs. As a rule, he makes but few gestures, but those he does make are emphatic.

Having captured his hearers by his manifestation

of sincerity and earnestness, he proceeds, step by step, to convince them by his logic; then he hammers into them the truth as he understands it; and finally the sum is worked out, the problem is solved, and the argument has reached its demonstration—and then McKinley is afire; his voice sounds like an anvil struck by a sledge-hammer wielded by his strong right arm, which now rises up and down with quick, terrific force; his form trembles with energy and seems to grow to heroic size; his deep-set eyes flash out like living coals. This is the moment of the orator's triumph. When his voice stops there is a thunder of applause, repeated again and again. With an "I thank you" in a low, nervous tone, the great champion of protection bows, and then plunges into his big overcoat, for by this time he has worked himself into a profuse perspiration.

CHAPTER XVIII.

A CHARACTER STUDY.

A Tariff for Protection, Not a Protective Tariff—A Character Study by E. J. Edwards, the Brilliant Journalist—McKinley Possesses a Logical Mind, and Has Cultivated Habits of Patience and Industry—Surprising Capacity for Drudgery—He has Made of the Tariff a Poem, Not Dreary Schedules.

THE following delightful character sketch of McKinley was written by the well-known and brilliant journalist, E. Jay Edwards ("Holland") for McClure's Magazine. It appeared in 1893, immediately after McKinley's great victory in that year. It is reproduced in this volume by the courteous permission of Mr. S. S. McClure:

McKinley was chosen a Representative in Congress when thirty-three years of age; at fifty, his name represents a principle of government which appeals to millions. That is an honor which has been the lot of no Congressman since Wilmot gained it. The youth who stood before the Speaker pale, slender, almost of timid suggestion, but of such dignity of countenance and manner as caused to be fixed upon him the eyes of the veterans of Congress when he took the oath, became, seventeen years later, the protagonist of a principle not boldly avowed until he

did it. He has compelled his countrymen to accept his name as a synonym for a policy which touches the core of American institutions. Clay has been called the father of the protective system, although Hamilton was that. Judge Kelley was for thirty years its special guardian. Mr. Morrill applied the principle with wondrous skill when framing the war tariff; but McKinley cast its apologies and its disguises away, and came forth true to his early inspiration, to proclaim it the American principle, to be avowed, defended and made triumphant for its own sake. In 1877 he was for a protective tariff; in 1888 he flung qualification to the winds, and stepped to the front the champion of protection of and for itself. And he put his party, till then hesitating, upon that radical foundation; made Congress his servant, so that it spread upon the statute books, for the first time, a law which was a tariff for protection, and not merely a protective tariff.

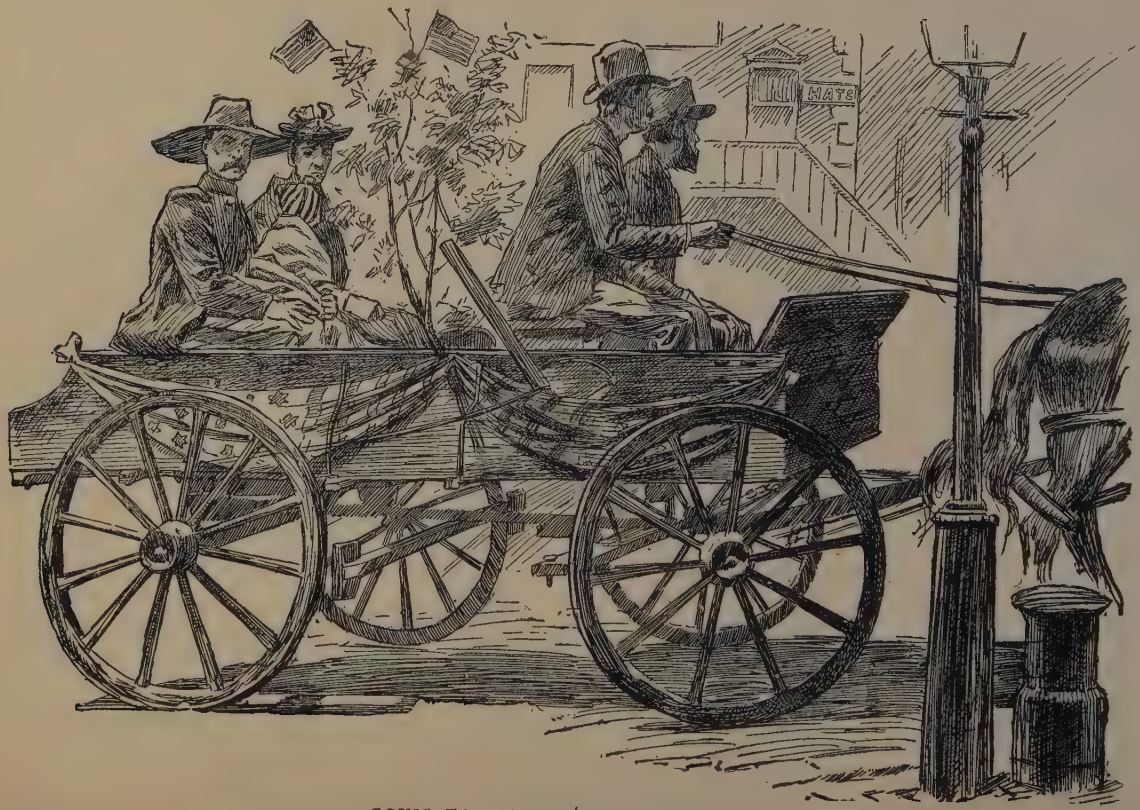
Two years later, when the American people seemed to have repudiated his work with overwhelming indignation, he furnished as fine an inspiration of courage and faith as we have ever seen, when his voice rang clear in that tempest of defeat, and bade his party hold fast and steady its lines. There were sneers and flippant jests for him, but he seemed to have the faith of the Covenanters, whose blood runs in his veins. There gathered about him, in his hotel parlor, in a great eastern city, at that time, men of his party, some complaining, many timid, seeming almost ready to turn half backward on the party's

record. He listened to them calmly, patiently, till they were done, and then said, "My friends, be firm. This is only a cross current, a chop sea; the tide of truth flows surely on beneath." Then these men went away inspired by the faith that was in him, and understanding something of the quality which had made him a man of power. To them, at least, the story of November 7th furnished no occasion for surprise.

It was at the Republican Convention of 1888 that McKinley first made revelation that he could inspire and command as well. The prize that body was to offer, another than he received; but the honors were his. President Cleveland had with his lofty courage flung out his banner of defiance of the protective policy, and rallied his party under it. McKinley matched that splendid and passionate challenge, by unfurling in that convention another banner with a new legend; "Protection not an incident, but a right and duty;" and with that inspiration faced his party against the opposition for the battle of November.

Without patronage, without power of any sort except that which is the handmaid of persuasion, he stayed the influence and barred for the time the issue created by the mightiest personal force in our public life for a generation. He prevailed with Congress as he had with his party's representatives at Chicago, and put upon the statute books a law of which he made proclamation, "This is a tariff for the protection of all things American.'

McKinley is better known, and, perhaps, less



GOING TO HEAR M'KINLEY SPEAK.

understood, than any of those who began public life with him. It is sometimes said that his success was served by chance or circumstance; that his faith is cool calculation, his enthusiasm a simulation, his impressive public manner the posing of an actor, his gravity an affectation of self-praise. But those who have been near him for many years do not speak thus of him. Nor can those who, with something of impartial spirit, make some study of his career, come to such estimation of him.

He went to Congress well equipped. He was of the age which seems best. The great careers have been begun early there. Mr. Blaine has said that the golden age for entering a service in Congress which is to be prolonged, is at the first flush of vigorous manhood. Like McKinley, he was thirty-three when he first went there; and of that age or thereabouts were Garfield and Conkling and Allison and Sherman and Randall and Reed. The House is a jealous mistress. Over its portals should be written, "Ye who enter here must be single in my service." And it was with such purpose that McKinley stepped from the court room of the country village to that finest of legislative arenas.

Congress was not greatly concerned about the principle which was in McKinley's heart, sound and abiding, when he entered that body. The Government was financing for the resumption of specie payments. Partisanship was still hot and angry over the disputed results of 1876. Frank Hurd had hurled the doctrine of free trade absolute over the

heads of his rebuking party in a brilliant speech, which made a sensation but not an impression. Mr. Morrison was hinting at an early necessity for tariff revision. Carlisle was compelling the first tributes of respect for extraordinary lucid and thorough presentation of financial views. Kelley stood as a grim guard at the gateway of the Morrill tariff. The Republican party was proudly looking forward to that day in 1879 when the Government was to pay its debts in coin and at demand. McKinley entered a Congress absorbed in these matters, and, although one of the youngest of the members, he must have early revealed himself as a man of power, who only awaited experience and opportunity. He was indicated in his second term as the man of all others who should take Garfield's chair in the Ways and Means Committee; and there he remained until, becoming the committee's chairman, he was named by the Speaker leader of the House. He was then only forty-six years of age. No trick of politics, no wielding of men so as to make them play to his purpose, no other quality than intellectual ability and personal strength, could have brought so young a man so swiftly to membership of the most important committee of the House.

His career seems to be logically indicated when he, a youth not long out of the army, his shingle just swung over the door of a country law office in Canton, met his opportunity and took it. It is a tradition which his neighbors like to tell, that at that time there came a cunning lawyer to his town, who

matched himself against McKinley in debate, and beat him and his feeble argument for protection down by the forceful pleadings of a pronounced free trader; and that then the iron entered McKinley's heart, and he said to a companion, "Hereafter no man shall overcome me so; I know that I am right in this matter, and I know that I can show that I am right by and by." Thenceforth he studied books and men and facts and his country, that he might be fortified in maintaining his principle.

Nothing, perhaps, shows more clearly the serious and earnest quality of his mind than in the manner in which he approached this subject. The young lawyer dug down at the roots, and, as he afterwards told the story to a group of friends, he went back to the Government itself and made his analysis. "Govments are for the protection of person and property. Our own agreement of government, which is the written Constitution, makes specific guarantees, and adds to them the promise of providing for the general welfare of the people. In our declaration of rights there is to be found mentioned an inalienable right, 'the pursuit of happiness.' The right of labor and of labor's best reward is, therefore, not only inalienable, for in it lies the power to pursue happiness; but it is a right protected in terms by the Constitution." That was the groundwork of McKinley's faith, and upon that as a bed-rock principle he built his defences, which Mr. Carlisle has said have been as perfect as it is possible to construct and maintain for the protective principle.

Therefore he was fortified when Judge Thurman, profoundly versed in constitutional law, said one day, "McKinley, where is your constitutional right for protection?" and he replied, "Where was yours when the creator of your party, Jefferson, bought the Louisiana Territory?"

"Ah," said Thurman with ready reply, "that was not unconstitutional, but ultra-constitutional."

"Well, then, Senator, if your party can defend the purchase of the Louisiana Territory as an ultra-constitutional act, isn't it straining at a gnat when it denounces protection as an unconstitutional policy? Moreover, I affirm that the Constitution defends and maintains it."

When he made that decision at the debating club where the cunning lawyer met him, McKinley took opportunity at its time. He received conviction then, and made of it a prisoner for life. As he has cherished his faith, it has seemed to those with whom he has been upon terms of intimacy as though it had sometimes opened his eyes so that he had seen wondrous things for our people when his face becomes triumphant, and is in its perfect flower. That has made him, what his friend Mr. Reed once called him, and what many of his associates in Congress have come to regard him, in some respects the most passionate American, for his patriotism is a genuine passion. Those who travel with him, those who meet him in some place away from his home, have been amazed at his persistent inquiry respecting material things which may suggest a lesson of American

prosperity—the railways, their mileage, their traffic, their dividends, their proposed extensions; the mills, what they make, the hands they employ, how the workingmen live, how many comforts and luxuries they possess; the distinctive trade of any city where he happens to be, whether it increases or is being taken away, and why. Of the splendid domain where American agriculture flourishes, he will tell men who live upon it more than they know, and then persist in inquiry like a cross-examiner.

Besides possessing the logical mind, McKinley has acquired the habits of patience, industry and a capacity to submit to drudgery, which is fully appreciated only by those who know what the preparation of a tariff bill involves. This is unquestionably an acquired talent; for McKinley, by nature, had some tendency, if not to indolence, at least to easy manner of life. But when he made the proclamation and maintenance of protection his serious business, he knew the dreary drudgery that was before him; he knew that no other policy of government compels such incessant labor, constant watchfulness, wide reading and all-reaching comprehension of all the energies which go to make American life, as does the mastery of this one.

If McKinley had been seen by the American people when he was engaged in acquiring and applying knowledge, he would have been discovered at his committee rooms sometimes eight or ten hours a day, or in consultation with his committee at his private rooms often until long past midnight. He would

have been exploring the mysteries of chemistry; reading the reports of trade associations, sometimes with great volumes massed up before him, through which he searched with the penetrating industry of one who compiles history; and in addition to these duties was his occupation upon the floor of the House. Such labor as this is exceeded by that of no lawyer preparing briefs, no physician making research into disease, no merchant in his counting room; and it puts to the highest test the capacity of a man for dreary drudgery. The maker of a tariff bill, the faithful member of a Ways and Means Committee, whether he be a protectionist or the opposite, knows his country and has his finger upon the pulse which beats with the material energy of the world. Therefore McKinley stands proved by the most severe of tests as a man capable of exhaustive and long-continued labor. This quality, combined with the logical habit of his mind, as well as his native disposition, has caused him to be esteemed one of the most serious of men. Perhaps it is for this reason that not for him have been those furious and exultant manifestations of popular acclaim which men with more brilliant, dramatic and splendid personal traits and intellectual display secure. He would never compel a whirlwind of enthusiasm for personal qualities as did Clay or Douglass, or, of our own time, Mr. Blaine. But he has not failed in these later years to command more permanent tributes.

It has been said that McKinley is no politician in the sense in which that word is commonly employed;

that he has no great command over masses of men, no capacity for playing the game of politics as chess is played, and wielding caucuses, conventions and communities to serve his purpose. And it is doubtless true that he has, as yet, made no such manifestation as would justify the opinion that he is to be esteemed one of the greatest politicians. His single-hearted purpose may have made such a pursuit impossible. That, however, is an endeavor which awaits him in the immediate future, if he is to so take advantage of the position which he now occupies that he may be named by his party as its Presidential candidate in 1896. We shall discover whether McKinley is a politician of the higher order in the summer of that year.

Able men have been placed, in the years that are gone, exactly as he now is situated with respect to the Presidency. Seward, three years before the Republican convention of 1860, seemed to be pre-eminently proclaimed his party's candidate. He had formulated his ideal in a single sentence, and he had the wisdom of experience, and the advantage of association with one of the ablest politicians ever developed in our country, Thurlow Weed. At the same time Mr. Lincoln was indicated as the leader of his party. Two years before the convention of 1860 he, too, had formulated the Republican party faith, and in a series of debates, which are now historic, had overthrown Douglass, till then the ablest debater of his day. Somewhat similar is McKinley's relation to his party to-day; and it is doubtless within the

truth to say that, on the morning after the election of November 7, the thought that was common to the politicians of either party was this: "McKinley is to-day pre-eminently indicated as his party's candidate." Those are the exact words uttered by two distinguished politicians, Chauncey M. Depew and William R. Grace, one a Republican the other a Democrat, when the abnormal majority of Ohio for McKinley was reported. But these men knew, as every politician knows, that having secured such advantage as makes a man pre-eminently indicated so many months before his party's convention meets, there are entailed upon such a man the very highest qualities of political skill in order to gain his party's highest honor. Lincoln displayed them; Seward made one or two blunders which were fatal. McKinley must for the next three years be peculiarly discreet, and yet show no lack of courage; he must watch the country, detecting instantly unfavorable alliance or combination, and mass his resources for their overthrow.

In his control of his tariff bill, when he was leader of the House, he revealed the very highest qualities in management of men, and of men mastered by the supreme impulse—that of the pocketbook. A manufacturer, a Democrat, sought him at his rooms one evening, and said to him: "Mr. McKinley, I have been to my member, who is a Democrat like myself, to have him help me get a hearing before your committee. I have been to my Senator, who is a Democrat, and I have been to others, and they have all

failed me. Now I have come to you. I have no claim on you, but I want to ask the privilege of representing my case."

McKinley sat with that man till midnight, listened to his expositions, searched the books and precedents, scrutinized the schedules, and at last said to the manufacturer, who was a stranger to him: "Your claim is just; I thank you for bringing it to me. We should have erred if we had left the schedule as it is. I will see that it is changed."

His simplicity of life and character should serve him in the politician's game. He lives like one who has been bred among the plain people of the land, and has never longed to stray from such association. Those who know him tell many anecdotes that suggest this plain and simple habit. McKinley, walking to the Capitol with a friend, was overhauled by a fellow-Congressman, a Democrat, who, behind a gaily caparisoned team and with a gorgeously liveried driver, hailed McKinley and invited him to ride. McKinley cast a queer glance at the vehicle, and declined, saying in an undertone to his friend: "I should never know how to get into that thing, or, being in, how to get out." The rich man insisted, and McKinley climbed up over the lofty wheels, scrambling like a boy who steals a ride behind; and, being at last seated, received this compliment: "McKinley, people who saw you get in might say you were a better Democrat than I."

"Who is that?" said Henry Irving, looking down from the galleries of the House and indicating

McKinley. "He should be a man of intellectual power." And it has seemed to others, who, seeing the House listening to him with the impressive silence which there means highest respect, that, as was said of Chatham, there was something even finer in the man than in the speech he uttered.

It was that quality he revealed when men came to him after the convention of 1888, and again after that of 1892, when he had the presidential nomination almost surely within his grasp, but commanded those who would offer it to be still, because he could not in honor receive it, having gone to those places in behalf of another; and these men told him that he had done as honorable a thing as the story of American politics tells. He looked upon them with amazement, saying simply this: "Is it such an honorable thing not to do a dishonorable thing?"

It has been said that the finest tribute paid by a popular convention was that which he received when he rejected these offers of the nomination. But it has seemed to others that perhaps a gentler, truer measure of esteem was never delivered than when, not long ago, it was revealed that he had lost his little fortune, because he had been so occupied with the Nation's business that he had not attended to his own; and there came to him tender messages of sympathy, and with the utmost delicacy contributions sent anonymously lest he should return them, saying, "I can not accept these evidences of your good will." Friends have paid the debts of more than one statesman, but it has never before happened that in

time of personal financial distress there have been submitted from all parts of the country silent and anonymous tokens such as these were.

To such a man as these brief hints suggest McKinley to be, it must seem true that the golden rule for such a government as ours is the second of the greater commandments of the Scriptures; and it is easy to understand why he believes that this rule set forth in law by gentle and kindly command compels the common American hand-clasp, each citizen through the operation of that law giving and every one receiving strength. No dreamer, no theorist, McKinley has yet made of his faith a poem as he tells it; for as he speaks, it seems no longer merely a matter of dreary schedules and hated imposts, but reveals the promise of that most beautiful of conditions, a happy people who may compass greater things than men have dared to dream.

CHAPTER XIX.

CAMPAIGN OF 1894.

Industrial and Financial Gloom—Condition of the Country in 1894—The People Demand McKinley at the Front—The Most Remarkable Campaign Since the War—Nearly Four Hundred Speeches in Five Weeks—Greeted with Ovations Everywhere—Good-natured and Modest in Bearing—Fighting for Principle, Not for Self-aggrandizement—Immense Audience—Incidents of the Campaign.

IN the history of a nation, as in human affairs, there are periods when troubles accumulate and press heavily on all sides, when the future is dark beyond compare, and when hope fades and despair takes possession of the heart and mind. The nation that survives such calamities is a superior nation and the human being a man of first quality. The advent of the Democratic party to power, March 4, 1893, marked the beginning of the most sudden change from industrial prosperity to industrial adversity ever known in the economic history of any country. In extent and rapidity of action this industrial devastation brought to mind the havoc of modern warfare prosecuted with energy and force by the aid of the most fearful and ingenious life—and property—destroying implements. No matter what the cause or

A GOOD TARIFF POINT.

causes, this panic of distrust and contraction swept the country from the Pacific to the Atlantic in an incredibly short space of time, and threw its shadows alike on every section of our broad domain.

Under its blighting effects private fortunes went down, values shrunk, corporations were pushed to the wall, banks closed their doors, solvent firms sought refuge in the hands of receivers, great financial institutions resorted to extraordinary combinations in the hope of stemming the almost resistless tide, the people took alarm and drained the savings banks of their deposits, orders for merchandise and commodities stopped, and whole communities of wage-earners were discharged from mines, mills, factories and workshops.

In the face of financial gloom and despair, the financiers, the business men, the captains of industry, exhibited courage, determination and the highest order of patriotism. They risked their fortunes in the effort to stem the current rapidly running against them. They stood in the ranks with angry and panic-stricken men and women and pointed out the folly of withdrawing money from sound and well-managed banks. They kept open their mills and factories until forced to close for want of orders. They, by their enterprise, forced a return of some gold to our shores. The tide of calamity following the advent of the Democratic party to power at one time bade fair to engulf the business interests of the Nation.

Labor, likewise, acted heroically. Reduction of

wages was accepted. Factories went on half time without a protest from the employes, and thousands daily joined the mournful army of the unemployed with the cherished hope that a few weeks would bring about better times. Here and there the cry went up for bread or work, and at such gatherings the socialistic spirit naturally came to the front. The hundreds of thousands, however, suddenly emerging from a long period of prosperity, did not feel at once the pinch of poverty. They were peaceable and hopeful, and, like the business men of the country, turned to the party in power for some remedy—to the party which promised so much to the wage-earner.

And what was the remedy offered? In the late summer of 1894 a tariff bill was passed which deepened the shade in the picture above given. It brought about greater suspense in our industries. It filled with uncertainty every branch of industry and trade. In fact, millions of anxious, careworn American citizens who had looked for statesmanlike action found only indifference, bickering, crankism, sectionalism, infidelity and incapacity both in the law and the methods employed to secure its passage. Nothing was being done to turn the tide and relieve the people. With no steady, courageous hand and comprehensive brain at the helm, National legislation had drifted into an uncertainty that bewildered even the friends of the administration. At this crisis the calm wisdom, vast experience, infinite industrial knowledge and courageous determination of William Mc-

Kinley was called for by the people of the United States in the most unmistakable manner. It does not detract from the achievements or reputation of any other contemporary Republican statesman to say that there never was in time of peace such a universal demand for a statesman, and it is doubtful if there ever was another such campaign as that which McKinley opened in September, 1894.

More than a generation will pass into the grave before that campaign is forgotten. The scars of eighteen months preceding it still remain and will not be effaced for many years. In this man, merely the Governor of one of our forty-four States, the people recognized a statesman of courage and action. He was in touch with the labor, the industrial and the financial interests of the country. In such an emergency they could rely upon his advice being sound and for the good of the country. It is said by those who know, that there was not a State in the North that at this crisis in the Nation's history did not clamor for McKinley. The Ohio Republican State Committee was almost in despair at the demands that came for McKinley's time. Every county in Ohio wanted him to speak in it, and it was a physical impossibility for the committee to meet the demands and requests which poured in upon it. He was not only wanted because of his pleasing personality and earnest devotion to the Republican party, but because he of all others was best able to crystallize the sentiment of protection and win the country back again to

the American system, under which the Nation was prosperous and the people contented and happy.

In commenting on this campaign, Mr. Samuel G. McClure, who was with McKinley part of the time, says: "It is a simple statement of facts to say that the tours made by McKinley in the past seven weeks have no parallel in American political history. The swings around the circle made by Presidents Cleveland and Harrison are the only journeys in recent years which may be compared to them, and they were not in any strict sense of the word political at all. The desire to see the chief executive of the Nation in both of these cases and to do him honor were the great moving causes that prompted display and large attendance. But in the tours which McKinley made, the official function was entirely absent. In its stead was the wish to honor the greatest exponent of a great cause and to hear the tariff discussed by its master. On the part of McKinley it was very far from a matter of self-seeking. For years he has always been at the service of the Republican party whenever it saw fit to command him and it was in his power to comply. He had made remarkable tours before this one, and in each instance at the request of the committee where he was called to speak. This was conspicuously the case this year.

"The combined tours far exceeded the distance half around the world. It is one of the marvels of the man that he was able to undergo all the fatigue which this immense feat implies, and yet close the

campaign in as good health as when he began and without having lost a pound in weight. Very often he was the last of the little party to retire, and almost invariably he was the first to rise. He seemed tireless, and every State committee in the Mississippi valley and beyond it apparently took it for granted that the gallant champion of 'patriotism, protection and prosperity' could not be over-worked. When he consented to make one speech for them, they forthwith arranged half a dozen short stops en route, and kept him talking almost constantly from day-break till late at night. He agreed to make forty-six set speeches in all during the campaign, and when he had concluded he had not only made them, but had spoken at no less than 325 other points as well. For over eight weeks he averaged better than seven speeches a day. At least two of these daily were to large audiences where he was compelled to talk for an hour or more. The others varied from ten minutes to half an hour in length, and were frequently addressed to crowds of five thousand people. On several occasions, as the special train was hurrying him along, he was called out for a talk before he had breakfasted, and would find to his surprise that one, two or three thousand persons had gathered at that early hour to see and hear him. It was not McKinley who sought all this, it was the people who sought McKinley.

"It did not require any great perception to discover that the glowing accounts which the Press Associations carried about his meetings were in fact

modest and moderate narratives of what transpired daily. The correspondents were expected to give non-partisan accounts, and did so, though some of the Democratic papers, which were served by the Press Associations, were growling at what they assumed was the exaggeration the correspondents were guilty of. The fact is, the meetings were not overdrawn in the least. If anything, the press narratives did not do them full justice, simply because to have done so would have called forth general protests from the Democratic papers and the charge that the accounts were highly colored. It is not strange that this should be the case. No one who was not with McKinley part or all of the time can form an adequate conception of the enthusiasm and interest with which he was received in all parts of the Nation. It had to be seen to be realized."

The most impartial historian, when he comes to deal with the campaign of 1894, must admit that the above sketch by S. G. McClure is merely a carefully condensed narrative of what actually happened during that memorable campaign. In seeking for information, the writer has personally gone over newspaper clippings covering actual reports of over two hundred McKinley meetings held within five weeks. This investigation included not only the reports published of the meetings by the local newspapers, but a series of admirable telegraphic dispatches sent by Mr. Busbey of the editorial staff of the Chicago *Inter-Ocean*, day by day. This gentleman was one of the party, and we have in these accounts and

the aforesaid separate local reports, information that fully supports the reviews quoted. In further consideration, the following list made up from the newspaper clippings will be of value:

SOME OF THE PLACES WHERE M'KINLEY SPOKE.

Sept. 25—Indianapolis, Ind.; Pendleton, Ind.; Anderson, Ind.; Muncie, Ind.; Farmland, Ind.; Winchester, Ind.; Richmond, Ind.; Centerville, Ind.; Cambridge City, Ind.; Knightstown, Ind.

Oct. 1—St. Louis, Mo.

2—Kansas City, Mo.; Kansas City, Kan.

3—Argentine, Kan.; Lawrence, Kan.; Topeka, Kan.; Scranton, Kan.; Burlingame, Kan.; Osage City, Kan.; Emporia, Kan.; Strong City, Kan.; Florence, Kan.; Peabody, Kan.; Newton, Kan.; Hutchinson, Kan.

4—McFarland, Kan.; Manhattan, Kan.; Clay Center, Kan.; Clifton, Kan.; Clyde, Kan.; Belleville, Kan.; Fairbury, Neb.; Beatrice, Neb.; Dewitt, Neb.; Wilbur, Neb.; Crete, Neb.; Lincoln, Neb.; Omaha, Neb.

5—Council Bluffs, Ia.; Neola, Ia.; Shelby, Ia.; Avoca, Ia.; Atlantic, Ia.; Anita, Ia.; Adair, Ia.; Casey, Ia.; Stuart, Ia.; De Soto, Ia.; Menlo, Ia.; Dexter, Ia.; Des Moines, Ia.

6—Ames, Ia.; Nevada, Ia.; State Center, Ia.; Marshalltown, Ia.; Liscomb, Ia; Union, Ia.; Eldora, Ia.; Steamboat Rock, Ia.; Ackley, Ia.; Hampton, Ia.; Sheffield, Ia.; Rockwell, Ia.; Mason City Junction, Ia.;

Lyle, Minn.; Austin, Minn.; Blooming Prairie, Minn.; Owatonna, Minn.; Faribault, Minn.; Northfield, Minn.; Farmington, Minn.; St. Paul, Minn.

8—Duluth, Minn.; Superior, Wis.

9—West Superior, Wis.; Madison, Wis.; Chippewa Falls, Wis.; Eau Claire, Wis.; Altoona, Wis.; Black River Falls, Wis.; Merrillon, Wis.; Elroy, Wis.; Reedsburg, Wis.; Baraboo, Wis.; Milwaukee, Wis.; Wonewoc, Wis.; Lavelle, Wis.; Lake Mills, Wis.; Waukesha, Wis.

10—Joliet, Ills.; Morris, Ills.; Seneca, Ills.; Marseilles, Ill.; Sparland, Ills.; Pekin, Ills.; Havana, Ills.; Ottawa, Ills.; Utica, Ills.; La Salle, Ills.; Peru, Ills.; Spring Valley, Ills.; Bureau Junction, Ills.; Peoria, Ills.; Springfield, Ills.

11—Adrian, Mich.; Tecumseh, Mich.; Clinton, Mich.; Jackson, Mich.; Ann Arbor, Mich.; Detroit, Mich.

12—Mount Clemens, Mich.; Pontiac, Mich.; St. John's, Mich.; Owosso, Mich.; Ionia, Mich.; Grand Rapids, Mich.

15—Columbus, O.

19—Lexington, Ky.; Somerset, Ky.; Chattanooga, Tenn.

20—New Orleans, La.

22—Mount Sterling, Ky.; Olive Hall, Ky.; Ashland, Ky.; Catlettsburg, Ky.; Huntington, W. Va.; Charleston, W. Va.

23—Point Pleasant, W. Va.; Mason City, W. Va.; Ravenswood, W. Va.; Belleville, W. Va.;

Parkersburg, W. Va.; Saint Mary's, W. Va.; Sistersville, W. Va.; New Martinsville, W. Va.; Moundsville, W. Va.; Benwood, W. Va.; Wheeling, W. Va.; Bridgeport, O.

24—Pittsburg, Pa.

25—Dunkirk, N. Y.; Buffalo, N. Y.

26—Batavia, N. Y.; Rochester, N. Y.; Pittsford, N. Y.; Canandaigua, N. Y.; Seneca Falls, N. Y.; Auburn, N. Y.; Utica, N. Y.; Geneva, N. Y.; Syracuse, N. Y.

27—Schenectady, N. Y.; Albany, N. Y.; Little Falls, N. Y.; Fonda, N. Y.; Amsterdam, N. A.; Newburg, N. Y.; Weehawken, N. J.; Poughkeepsie, N. Y.; Philadelphia, Pa.

29—Chicago, Ill.; Gillman, Ill.; Paxton, Ill.; Tuscola, Ill.; Arcola, Ill.; Mattoon, Ill.; Newton, Ill.; Toledo, Ill.; Olney, Ill.

30—Mansfield, O.

31—Cambridge, O.; Byesville, O.; Kimbolton, O.; Point Pleasant, O.; Caldwell, O.; Dexter City, O.; Macksburg, O.; Marietta, O.; Lowell, O.; McConnellsville, O.; Stockport, O.; Beverly, O.; Malta, O.; Taylorsville, O.; Zanesville, O.

Nov. 1—Sandusky, O.

2—Erie, Pa.; Ashtabula, O.; Painesville, O.; Chardon, O.; Middlefield, O.; West Farmington, O.; Warren, O.; Newton Falls, O.; Ravenna, O.; Akron, O.

There may be in existence an actual official statement of all the places visited, but it has not come to

light. McKinley himself would never trouble about keeping such a memoranda. That he made 371 speeches and visited over 300 separate towns, is undoubtedly true. The pleas which were made by the people of Louisiana for McKinley are a fair illustration of what McKinley's friends had to deal with from the beginning to the end of the campaign. The Republicans of the other States simply would not take "no" for an answer. They must have McKinley, they said, and so urgently would they insist that he was in a number of cases fairly forced into doing nearly twice the work which he had engaged to do. When the first route of the campaign was being arranged, California made a strong appeal for a visit, and it is said McKinley was more than half inclined to grant the request and extend his Kansas and Nebraska tour through to the coast. Those on the inside say that it was all the managers of the canvass in Ohio could do to dissuade him from making that attempt and giving the Sunset State the half dozen speeches it asked.

The 371 speeches which McKinley made, Mr. McClure informs us, rarely caused hoarseness. The remarkable quality of his voice was frequently commented upon. Compelled to speak under all sorts of conditions, and at almost all times, it was little short of wonderful that his throat should show the effects in such a slight degree.

It was also a striking illustration of the perfection of the railroad accommodations of the day that the extended tours which McKinley made should have

been completed without a single mishap of any kind, and without missing a connection. If the newspaper reports published at the time are valuable, McKinley stood the fatigues of the journey remarkably well. Although furnished with private cars, ostensibly that he might have rest, they were of very little use to him for that purpose. The cars were invariably packed with a crowd of admiring friends who rendered it impossible for McKinley to get any rest whatever. Phenomenal records were made during the trip, notably on the New York Central. From Syracuse to Utica and back to Syracuse, and then on down the Hudson river, through the Catskill mountains, the special train of two cars was hauled by the famous locomotive, No. 999, which was exhibited at the World's Fair, in charge of its engineer, George S. Mink. Going from Syracuse to Utica and back, this engine, in charge of Mr. Mink, ran most of the distance at the rate of ninety miles an hour. Mr. Mink said he could easily make 100 miles an hour and would do it on the following day. He did. That special train fairly flew through the mountains, and whenever it struck a curve everything in the car, including the people, piled up at one side. At one time there were eight gentlemen in the smoking-room, all seated save two, and when the train struck a curve those two men pitched to one side of the car, piled into a disordered and scared mass. The speed was too terrific for the members of the party, and the engineer was induced to slow down to between sixty-five and seventy miles an hour. A couple of hours

later the New Jersey Central special train rushed along from Jersey City to Philadelphia at a speed of one mile in forty-five seconds, making the distance of ninety miles in little less than ninety minutes, stopping at several crossings on the way.

Mr. Harry Miner, the able and versatile correspondent of the *Times-Star* of Cincinnati, had an exceedingly interesting summary of this notable campaign, evidently written by one familiar with the facts, and published immediately after the close of the campaign, when the facts were fresh in the public mind. The subjoined extracts are worth perusing:

Governor McKinley is winding up what has been, perhaps, the most remarkable political campaigning tour made by any man in this country. He has spoken in sixteen States, namely, Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Missouri, Kansas, Nebraska, Iowa, Minnesota, Wisconsin, Michigan, Kentucky, Louisiana, West Virginia, Tennessee, Pennsylvania and New York. He has made as many as twenty-three speeches in one day, most of them, of course, being short. It has been estimated by those who have been with him that he has addressed two million people.

The audiences which have flocked to hear McKinley have been enormous. In many places the crowds that went to hear him were the largest ever gathered in those places upon any occasion.

People traveled for great distances to hear him. At Lincoln, Nebraska, there were among his hearers 500 cowboys who had ridden ninety miles on their mustangs for the sole purpose of hearing protection's chief exponent. At St. Paul there were several men in the audience who came 300 miles from their homes in Dakota to

hear him speak, and at Huntington, West Virginia, a man traveled 200 miles to hear McKinley's speech.

It is probable that the largest meeting was at Hutchinson, Kansas, where the number of outsiders was estimated at not less than 30,000, coming from Texas, Nebraska, Missouri, Oklahoma and Indian Territory. In the Eastern States the crowds were very large, but perhaps not quite so much so as in the Western States. It is estimated that the crowd at Albany numbered not less than 10,000 persons. At Utica, Syracuse and Philadelphia many thousands were turned away from the doors of the large halls, and huge as the crowd was it was not so large as the crowd outside, which was not even able to get inside of the doors.

It was a good deal easier for McKinley to talk to audiences this year on political issues than it was two years ago. These great popular demonstrations would seem to indicate two things—that McKinley is respected, confided in and admired by the people of the country, and that the people want to know about protection. Before he was telling the people what would happen; now he was telling them how to undo what they had already done. His prophecy of two years before has been proved by events to be correct.

It would hardly be fair to accuse the committees that had charge of McKinley of being unfeeling, but it is certainly true that they worked him like a horse, or more properly speaking, like that tireless and amiable animal, the uncomplaining mule. From the moment that a State committee laid hands on him they worked him without cessation, making him get up at six o'clock in the morning, take a bite of breakfast and rush out and make a speech, and then keep on making speeches until late at

night. No word of complaint ever came from McKinley, but he was most awfully tired out. But once did he say anything which indicated that he felt he was being overworked. He addressed two immense meetings in Syracuse, N. Y., finishing his last speech shortly after ten o'clock. His train was not to leave until eleven, and on his way to the hotel after the last meeting he turned to the Mayor and expressed assumed surprise that he was to be allowed to waste a full hour which he might have put in in making another speech. The Mayor was not familiar with McKinley's dry humor and hastened to apologize for not having arranged a third meeting.

However, the next night at Philadelphia, McKinley had a chance to make three speeches, and did so.

McKinley found a queer feature of political campaigning in the South. Political meetings there are usually held on Sunday. The reason for this is that men in the country districts are adverse to losing a day's time from their work and demand that political stumpers shall do their talking on the Sabbath day. McKinley was asked to make a few speeches in Mississippi and Alabama on Sunday, while returning from New Orleans, but he gently declined, of course.

Everywhere that McKinley went on his great tour he asked his audience the question, whether there was a man in the audience who was working that was not working in 1892; whether there was a man in the audience who was working in 1892 who was not working at all this year. He never failed to put these questions at every meeting, and at every one the reply was precisely the same. He was everywhere told that not a man in the audience was working who was not working in 1892; that not one person in the audience was getting as good

wages as he got in 1892, but that there were numbers out of work then who had worked in 1892.

This chapter has already reached its limits and the topic not exhausted; the conclusion of the campaign of 1894 must be reserved for the chapter which follows.

CHAPTER XX.

CAMPAIGN OF 1894—CONTINUED.

After repeated Appeals, McKinley Goes South—Is Greeted with Enthusiasm in New Orleans—Graphic Description of the Monster Meeting at New Orleans—The Platform a Mass of Struggling Humanity—First Speech in Kentucky—Visits West Virginia and Tennessee—Close of a Memorable Campaign.

THE most picturesque of the meetings held was undoubtedly at New Orleans. Never was so determined an attempt made to secure a speaker as that put forth by the Louisiana protectionists. The Ohio State Committee refused and refused again. Not until the fourth appeal was made and a representative had come on to present the case in person, was the request granted and McKinley persuaded to make the trip of several thousand miles in order to speak once to the protectionists of the Pelican State. It must be remembered that in order to do this he was obliged to cancel other engagements, as every available hour had been pre-empted. October 19 the Ohio dates were abandoned, and McKinley started on a special train for the land of Dixie. The first stop was at Lexington, Kentucky, where a large crowd greeted him. At places all along the route, as the train rushed south at fifty miles an

hour, people gathered. They knew the train would not stop, but they assembled all the same, and in some places greeted McKinley with flags and the firing of gun powder. Miners left their work to pay honor to the apostle of protection. Speeches were made at several places. At Chattanooga thousands assembled at the station, and McKinley was compelled to make a speech from an extemporized platform to over 6,000 people. On the morning of the twentieth he arrived in New Orleans. He had made a journey of one thousand miles to deliver one speech. It was a tiresome and disagreeable journey, because of the heat and dust. Still, it was full of inspiration from the time McKinley crossed the Ohio river until he reached the Crescent City. In Kentucky and Tennessee he received ovations such as he had just experienced in the western States. The enthusiasm at New Orleans excelled that of any campaign within the memory of the oldest residents.

The enormous auditorium, built for the Fitzsimmons-Hall fight, seating over 12,000 people, was not only packed, but five or six thousand men and women struggled on the outside for admission. The crowd began to gather at five o'clock and some stood in line two hours before the doors were open. To this large assemblage McKinley spoke for two hours, going over the whole tariff question in a calm and instructive manner, and closing with a magnificent peroration which had the fire of true eloquence. The scene upon that occasion was described by a capable

writer in the *New Orleans Picayune*. The following extracts from this account, which, with a verbatim report of McKinley's speech, occupied three or four pages of the paper, have become historical. It should be remembered that the *Picayune* is a radical Democratic newspaper, and hence this description was in no way colored by partisan zeal. In short, we have here a Democratic picture of McKinley:

McKinley appears a little under middle height, and this defect of under size is increased by the exceeding squareness and solidity both of form and face. His forehead, smooth and white, overhangs eyes deep-set under bushy eyebrows of jet black. He has a trick, when asking a question, of lifting those eyebrows so that the latent fire in his eyes flashes forth suddenly and sharp. His mouth is mobile, the face clean shaven, the hair thin on the top and straggling to the coat collar in innumerable fine points.

McKinley looks very like the pictures which have of late been liberally distributed throughout the city.

In speaking, McKinley has few but effective gestures, the chief of which is a sort of reiterated hammering into space, as though driving a nail into the atmosphere. Though the Auditorium arena is wonderfully large, McKinley's voice filled it easily. And it is a voice in itself singularly rich in the variety of inflection and emphasis, deriving an added zest from the western drawl and mannerism still clinging to it.

Considered simply as a forensic display, McKinley's speech was exceedingly interesting. The exquisite art with which he evaded all the topics which, such as the Force bill, might have touched his audience too nearly,

was admirable. His array of argument was marshaled with the skill of a practiced debater, presenting with marvelous ability an epitome of the Republican philosophy of politics.

It was but natural that, in addressing an audience so thoroughly Southern, Mr. McKinley should lay special emphasis on the part which the South had played in the history of tariff legislation. As he delineated the origin of the Republican tariff through the effort of Southern statesmen, the applause was fairly indescribable. From the gallery a voice cried out: "Give it to them, McKinley; give it to them." A burst of laughter attended this ejaculation, but the orator never smiled. He mopped the perspiration from his forehead, and while the din continued, refreshed his memory from his notes. The applause again became uproarious when, a few moments later, he declared that the burden of the present administration, "with its free trade laws," was the greatest burden the people had borne for thirty years.

Nor did the audience fail to respond when, a ready by object lesson, the speaker illustrated the operation of the tariff in relation to the manufacture of glass tumblers. "Every tumbler imported," he said, "represents the displacement of a tumbler of domestic manufacture. If you cut the tariff on glass and expect to receive an increased revenue, the importation must be redoubled. Is that what you want?"

And the vast assembly fairly went wild for five minutes.

Again, when the Governor declared that the displacement of an American laborer meant the cessation of his wages, a voice cried out:

"The result is starvation."

With a ready answer McKinley replied:

"Like the people everywhere I have been, are you ready to vote?"

From the benches immediately in front, one of the charcoal delegation responded: "Vote for you;" and another supplemented with, "Vote for you for the next Presidency."

Soon afterward the Democratic element was heard from. The Governor said: "They said we had a splendid prosperity under President Cleveland in his first administration; so we had." "Hear, hear," mingled with cheers, rose loudly from the Old Guard.

"And do you know why?"

"No," from a voice in the gallery.

"Because all Cleveland did was to execute the Republican laws already in existence."

And the Republicans cheered.

"War and treason," resumed McKinley, "are the words of President Cleveland. He is a peace-man in war; a war-man in peace."

Great laughter followed this declaration. Under cover of it, Governor McKinley asked Mr. Ferris the time. Cries immediately arose, "Go on, go on! We can wait till to-morrow morning to hear that."

"Why is it," asked the orator a moment later; "why is it that amid all the resources of the land we are suffering?"

(A voice, "Why is it?")

"I can answer in a word. The Democrats are running the Government, and nothing else is running. Every industry is practically stopped; no man can calculate the loss to the people of this country in investment, property, wages. We have been at school. It has been a

universal, a sort of compulsory education, from the benefits of which none have been excluded. (Laughter and applause.) While the tuition has been free, the ultimate cost has been very great. (Laughter.) We have been blessed with experience, if we haven't been blessed with anything else. (Laughter and prolonged applause.)"

Then followed the most dramatic scene of the evening. Mr. McKinley had hitherto confined himself to an analysis in general terms of issues affecting all sections of the country alike. Said the orator: "What party has taken from you the protection that the Republicans gave?"

"The Democrats," cried an excited voice;" "D——n them."

"When we framed the law of 1890," declared the Governor, "we undertook to frame a bill based on the principles of protection. We permitted everything to come in free which we could not or did not produce."

"Enough of that," cried a voice. "Give us the Force bill."

A good many people were anxious to hear McKinley on that subject, and for a moment absolute silence reigned. A committeeman whispered to him: "He calls for something about the Force bill."

"I cannot be diverted from this discussion," said Mr. McKinley, looking around and speaking in his loudest voice. "If any proper question be put to me I will endeavor to reply as best I can. (Wild applause.) I believe in the purest and fairest debate on all public questions, and in my public life or my private record I have nothing to conceal."

And that appeal, so eloquent, so ingenious, captured

his hearers, and the last great burst of applause followed. When the cheers ceased to ring, McKinley, turning first to one side and then to the other, so as to address comprehensively the entire assembly, delivered the eloquent peroration which, expressing the determination of the party to discharge by Louisiana its duties no less sacredly than by Ohio, closed his great effort.

This dramatic report of the New Orleans meeting, coming from a Democratic source, is indeed a strong endorsement of McKinley's remarkable campaigning ability. The same newspaper gives this graphic account of the struggles which took place at the close of the speech:

When the last words had been uttered, a cheer and a shout went up which shook the very rafters of the vast hall. Long and loud it was, being echoed and re-echoed until the din was perfectly deafening. Then, before the sounds had half subsided and the speaker had recovered his composure, after his effort, some one of the horde around the press table made a break to mount the platform and shake the hand of the expounder of the theory of protection. It was like applying a match to a powder keg. Instantly there were five hundred men bounding on the platform and struggling and fighting among themselves to reach the center, where McKinley, almost smothered, and barely able to keep his feet, was having both hands shaken at a rate that probably made him think that he was walking on a tread mill on his hands. They pushed and shoved and howled and cursed and yelled until the scene was a perfect babel. The entire platform was one mass of struggling humanity, black and white and saffron, and the gentlemen who but a few

moments before had been sitting up there the very impersonations of dignity, were lost in the shuffle, and it would have been like hunting for a needle in a haystack to try to catch sight of any of them.

After a dusty and hot railroad trip of 2,300 miles, McKinley was back in the Ohio Valley, October 22, and could look across the river to the Buckeye State. Then came the splendid meetings in the coal districts of West Virginia. He made the run from New Orleans to Huntington in thirty-six hours, and to the surprise of Republicans and consternation of Democrats kept his engagement, addressing 6,000 people, some of whom had come miles along the mountain roads to hear him. The *Wheeling* (W. Va,) *Intelligencer* thus referred to "McKinley Day" in West Virginia: "Yesterday was McKinley day in West Virginia and without doubt Governor William McKinley of Ohio addressed the grandest series of meetings ever held in a single day in the great Ohio valley. Twelve magnificent meetings were held, commencing at Point Pleasant down in the lower end of the State and winding up last night at Bridgeport. The twelve meetings averaged much over 2,000 people at each, and the aggregate number of people that heard McKinley yesterday was 32,000, as follows: Point Pleasant, 800; Mason City, 2,000; Ravenswood, 1,500; Bellville, 500; Parkersburg, 5,000; St. Mary's, 1,000; Sisterville, 2,000; New Martinsville, 600; Moundsville, 1,500; Benwood, 500; Wheeling (McClure), 5,000; Bridgeport, 10,000.

From West Virginia McKinley went to Pittsburg, and of course addressed a monster meeting there, receiving an ovation at every place the train stopped. Leaving Pittsburg on the 24th of October, he spoke next day at Buffalo, where the popular demonstration was unparalleled. The town was simply in an uproar. The *Buffalo Express* of October 26, says of this visit:

Some 25,000 residents of Buffalo started out last evening with the intention of hearing Governor McKinley speak at Music Hall. It was only the limited capacity of this place that prevented them from doing so. The crowd was something enormous. It was more than a crowd, it was a flood. Without any doubt, it was the greatest assemblage that ever attended a Buffalo political meeting. In spite of the fact that the Republican champion spoke at three halls during the evening, the crowd of people that tried to hear him at Music Hall was unprecedented in the annals of local political history.

Up Main street streamed one crowd, down Main street streamed another. The point of convergence of those mighty rivers of voters was the front entrance of the hall. At a little after 7 o'clock there was not a seat left. The street was packed with a dense crowd. The hall was packed to its utmost capacity. Back of the long lines of seats the people were marshalled. They stood on the stairs that lead up into the flies. They thronged the aisles. They choked the entrances. It was surely a great crowd, and those who have seen the campaigns of years marveled at it.

It was a curious crowd. At first the people came in squads, then battalions, then regiments. Then they filed

in a steady stream that knew no line of demarkation. Staunch voters, who had voted for Republican principles years ago, hobbled to the hall on canes. Men in the prime of life proud in their strict adherence to the ticket, veterans of the war and young men.

It was also a fine-appearing crowd. It contained the solid men, the business men and the laborer—all attracted by that magnet of true principle, McKinley. Inside the hall the scene was one long to be remembered. It was a vast area dotted with faces. The great galleries were fairly running over. The crowd was so vast that a murmur that almost amounted to a roar arose from it.

As Governor McKinley walked on the stage, the vast audience broke into a long and hearty cheer. They kept it up. They arose and shouted. They waved handkerchiefs and threw their hats into the air. They yelled at the tops of their voices. It was not until they were almost breathless that they stopped, and even then the cheering continued, led by straggling enthusiasts in different parts of the hall. It was the enthusiasm of coming victory, the spirit that animates success. All through the brilliant speech it continued. The air was resounding with a prolonged roar whenever the speaker would touch a vital point in the campaign, and these times were more than frequent. Governor McKinley spoke to three magnificent audiences during the evening, and made three magnificent speeches.

Tremendous as the day at Buffalo undoubtedly was, the scene was repeated at Albany. Here is the account as published in the *Albany Journal* of October 27, 1894:

The City Hall Square in Albany was fairly blocked

with people, and in front and around the platform they were as close together as sardines in a box. Such a crowd has not been seen in Albany in many a day. It numbered over 10,000. There were old men present, some of whom had heard Daniel Webster make his great plea for protection under the big spreading elm on the Troy road, the greatest outdoor meeting in the history of Albany, succeeded with anything like the same interest by only two since: First, when Mr. Blaine spoke at the fair grounds in the campaign of 1888, and second, on the afternoon of August 18, 1891, in the same place that McKinley spoke to-day, when President Harrison made his famous speech in favor of an honest dollar, in which he said: "Any dollar, whether paper or coin, issued or stamped by the general Government, should always and everywhere be as good as any other dollar."

But in point of numbers and display of enthusiasm, to-day's meeting eclipsed everything within the memory of those who can go back any farther than twenty years or so before the war. Rich and poor jostled with each other in the crowd, but the poor were more than ever in the majority, thanks to the tariff smashers. The banker and merchant, the professional man, and he who toils—when he can get work—in the sweat of his face were there. No more striking illustration of the bad times could be shown than in the presence of the great army of the unemployed, who have but one answer to the question: "Why stand ye hear idle all the day?" They were anxious to see and hear the man who has made their interests his concern from the time he was first sent to Congress.

To many others McKinley appealed in divers ways; to the old, as one who was patriotic and sound in judg-

ment; to the young, for his dash and brilliancy; to the veteran of the war, as a comrade in arms; to the farmer —and hundreds of farmers were there—for his efforts to protect them against the Canadian competitor, and to the new American as an object of great curiosity, for was not McKinley the most hated man in all Europe, because, with Blaine, he had declared that Americans legislated not for the world, but for America alone. And the ladies! Oh, they were there to catch a glimpse of the possible next President of the United States.

Thousands who saw McKinley for the first time were struck by his resemblance to Daniel Webster, when the sage of Marshfield was at the height of his power His face, in the judgment of many, was more Websterian than Napoleonic, a face that betokened extraordinary mental power, unbounded energy, a love of humor, the tenderness of a woman and the courage of a soldier who would fight to grim death. He has changed a little, a few more gray hairs, perhaps, since his first and last previous visit to Albany, when he spoke in the old Lark street rink, John Swinburne, the fighting doctor, presiding at the meeting.

It is impossible to give reports of more than a few of these meetings, by way of illustrating the triumph of protection and its great leader. His trip through New York was one continuous ovation. Thousands crowded at every railway station. Speaking to an immense gathering at Philadelphia on the night of October 27, he again started westward to Illinois. October 29 he must have made ten or a dozen speeches. At Olney, Illinois, McKinley was welcomed by a crowd of 30,000 Southern Illinoisans.

It was the greatest outpouring of the people at a political rally ever held in this part of the State. From Illinois he again turned his face homeward, making speeches at every stopping-place. On October 31, he made no less than fifteen speeches. The campaign was finally closed in Cleveland; from thence he went to Canton, where he cast his vote election day.

Prior to his Southern trip, McKinley had made a successful tour through the Western and Northwestern States, and experienced the unfettered enthusiasm of a real Western audience. He opened the Republican campaign in Missouri at St. Louis, where thousands crowded the hall and thousands left, unable to gain admittance. The ovation he received here was more than a political meeting or demonstration. It was a hearty and uproarious welcome from the thousands who turned out to see and hear the champion of protection. At Hutchinson, Kansas, there was an immense outpouring of people to hear McKinley. Says the Hutchinson (Kan.) *News:* "Last night visitors began to arrive in the city and every train has brought in hundreds. The Santa Fe ran two specials from the West and they were crowded. The Missouri Pacific ran a special from each direction, and so did the Rock Island, and the special as well as the regular trains were crowded with men and women. It is estimated that there were at one o'clock in Hutchinson 20,000 visitors. The Hutchinson & Southern brought in

upwards of 1,000 from the down line of that road at noon."

A special despatch, written by an eye-witness, thus describes the demonstration:

The McKinley train swept through a large section of the Sunflower State to-day, and the Governor of Ohio looked nearly 100,000 Kansans in the face, while more than half that number heard him speak. It was such a demonstration as could only be witnessed in the West, where men and women put the same emotion of fervor into their politics that those farther East put into their religion. It had in it even a phase of hero-worship, and great as have been the crowds to which Governor McKinley has spoken in this and other campaigns, he will not soon forget this visit to Kansas.

The demonstration for McKinley began at 7 o'clock this morning, when he crossed the State line of Missouri, and it kept up all the way along 250 miles of the Santa Fe Railway, from Kansas City to Hutchinson, where it culminated in what might be called an interstate Republican rally, with a crowd estimated at from 40,000 to 50,000 people from Kansas, Oklahoma and Nebraska. The railroads claim to have brought 20,000 people to this city, and the streets are blockaded with vehicles of every character and description, from the dusty old prairie schooner, in which many of the settlers came to Kansas, to the handsome turnout of city people and the bicycle.

Over the entrance to the Capitol at Topeka was a large streamer, inscribed: "The gates of Kansas swing with the breeze and the keys of city and hamlet hang outside. Welcome, thrice welcome, Ohio's Governor."

The train reached Hutchinson at 3:45 p. m. McKinley thought he had seen the people of Kansas and had realized what wild western enthusiasm was, but there he came in contact with the Kansas cyclone. It was one of western Republican enthusiasm and it surged through the wild streets of this western city and threatened to lift the carriage in which the Ohioan sat. It was not safe to try to take him from the train at the station because of the crush of people about the depot, and a stop was made half a mile out, where the party was met with carriages.

Men, women and children cared nothing for the rearing and plunging horses, nor the efforts of policemen. They surrounded McKinley's carriage and cut it off from the others. The bands tried to play, but some of them were run over by the cheering crowd, and in a moment the carriage was covered with people who were determined to shake hands with the Governor of Ohio. They were in the box, climbing over the driver; they were on the steps and on the hubs of the turning wheels; they were over the back of the carriage, and while horses plunged, drivers shouted and policemen tried to push in, men laughed and assured McKinley that there was no danger, as they would not let the horses run away. The Governor laughed with them and reached out both hands, which were passed from one to another of these wild Kansans.

The carriages behind could not near that in which he rode, but the procession slowly moved up the street, and it was the strangest procession ever seen.

The wide street was filled from curb to curb with men, women and children, carriages, wagons and buggies of every age and description. As an indication of how the people of Southern Kansas came to hear him, the sidetracks of all the roads in the city were blocked with cars.

McKinley's reception at Omaha, Neb., is thus described by a special telegram to the *Inter-Ocean:*

For thirty-six hours McKinley has been west of the Missouri river, and only six of those hours had he to himself, when he could be free from making speeches, shaking hands and talking to those who came on the train to see him. He was called at five o'clock in Kansas City yesterday morning, and for eighteen hours had not ten minutes alone, or even with his secretary or intimate associates on the tour. He was up again shortly after five oclock this morning, to put in another eighteen hours of speeches, handshaking and talking to committees and Western politicians, who crowded the special train which ran through Central Kansas and Southeastern Nebraska for nearly three hundred miles, to land in Omaha and face an audience of 15,000 people in the Coliseum and hear the cheers of several thousand more who were unable to get inside the building or within range of his voice. The estimating of crowds grows monotonous, where the people are computed by the acre, but it is safe to say that the Buckeye Governor has been cheered by over 300,000 people to-day.

October 6, McKinley recrossed the Mississippi river at seven o'clock at night, after six days of the most remarkable campaigning ever known in the

great Mississippi Valley. In his tour of the West, McKinley traveled 2,500 miles, made more than seventy-five speeches, varying in length from five minutes to one hour and a half, and was greeted by not less than a half million enthusiastic Western people. At St. Paul he had an audience of 9,000 people inside the Auditorium, and 5,000 outside waited to hear him, while 2,000 people assembled in Market Hall to wait for a short talk.

At Duluth the car barn was the only place large enough to accommodate the people. This made a hall 300 feet long and 150 feet wide, in which seats were arranged for 8,000 and standing room left for 4,000 or 5,000. The place was filled and the estimates on the crowd placed the people at from 10,000 to 12,000. There were miners on the Mesaba range, workmen from the docks and the mills, and business men, while the first 1,000 chairs were reserved for the ladies.

Flags and flowers marked the journey of Governor McKinley across the Badger State. It was a tour from extreme northwest of Wisconsin to the commercial capital, and it took in every class of Wisconsin people, from the miners to the merchants, from the children to the patriarchs and pioneers of the State. There were loggers from the lumber camps in their picturesque coats of many colors, railroad men in their blue blouses, farmers in their broad-brimmed hats, business men from the country, women and children, boys and girls from the village schools, and college students from the university.

It was without exception the grandest demonstration even accorded to any man making a political tour of Wisconsin. This tour was like the progress of civilization in Wisconsin, beginning up in the Chippewa valley, where are the greatest lumber camps in the country, swinging down through the Wisconsin river valley, where the dairy and tobacco farms have represented the richest region of agriculture in the State, and then reaching one climax at the Wisconsin State University, the pride of intellectuality in the Northwest, and another in the great industrial and commercial center of Milwaukee.

At Adrian, Michigan, there were fully 10,000 people in the crowd assembled to hear McKinley; at Detroit he held 6,000 spellbound in the auditorium for nearly two hours. At Ionia he spoke to fully 5,000, and notwithstanding the rain, held their closest attention during his speech. At Grand Rapids he addressed an audience of 4,000 in the auditorium.

Such was the campaign of 1894. It is impossible to present more than glimpses of McKinley's reception in the South, in New York, in Pennsylvania, Ohio, and Illinois, and in the West and Northwest. The half remains untold, even though two chapters have been devoted to this remarkable campaign. The result we know. The tide that swept the Democratic party in, changed, and so far as the popular House of Representatives was concerned, swept it out in 1894. In 1896 the same protection sentiment will carry the Democratic party out again, and the youngest of its statesmen will never live to see the return to power of the men who betrayed their country in this serious period of its history.

CHAPTER XXI.

VIEWS ON PUBLIC QUESTIONS.

McKinley not a Man of One Idea—Has a Broad Grasp of all Questions—Irving, the Actor, Thinks Him a Man of Intellectual Power—A Vigorous Living Force in Politics—Gladstone and McKinley Both Able in Dealing with Fiscal Matters—Telling Statements in Relation to Pensions.

IT has been asserted by some whose ambitions might suffer by the growing popularity of McKinley, that he is a one-sided man; that while he is pre-eminently the best equipped of our statesmen, so far as the tariff and kindred questions are concerned, he lacks the broader grasp of questions of government necessary to higher statesmanship. Those who know McKinley best, who have followed his career, who have read his speeches on all conceivable topics, and who are familiar with his method of thought and wide range of studies, are amused rather than pained at this criticism.

The tariff issue itself and all the delicate questions of public revenue which are interwoven with it, constitute the most difficult and the most complicated problems that a statesman has to deal with. To master and understand them in all their bearings requires an intellect of the highest order. To be so

familiar with these questions as to make them interesting and intelligent to the masses of people necessitates an amount of study and an order of intellect that few of our statesmen have possessed. It is doubtful if any American statesman has ever been able to so completely elucidate and bring the tariff question home to the plain people with such directness and simplicity as we find displayed in all McKinley's utterances on this question.

The admission, therefore, of friend and enemy alike, that the subject of this sketch comprehends these questions better than any other living American statesman is a recognition of intellectual strength which would qualify McKinley for any place of responsibility which his countrymen in their wisdom might see fit to place him in.

"Who is that?" said Sir Henry Irving, looking down from the galleries of the House of Representatives and indicating McKinley. "He should be a man of intellectual power." The great English actor was right in thus applying the term in its broadest sense. Above and beyond the study and mastery of questions of revenue, tariff and economics, McKinley has distinguished himself as a man of diversified intellect and of abundant capacity to grasp understandingly all questions of government which concern National legislation, both domestic and foreign. Added to this, he has shown in his wide experience in dealing with men, a knowledge of humanity and judgment of human nature that places him side by side with such American statesmen as

Lincoln, in the simplicity of his habits and his love of the plain, every-day people; with Blaine, in his mastery of the facts appertaining to the great questions of the time; and with William D. Kelley, in his capacity for mastering the myriad details of the tariff bill. Surely, no other American statesman, not even Henry Clay, was capable of clothing the dreary schedules of the tariff with such living, vital pictures by the art of profound knowledge of them and earnest oratory as McKinley. It is true, McKinley is the greatest tariff advocate of the times. It is likewise true that William E. Gladstone was, in his day, the greatest Chancellor of the Exchequer. McKinley's tariff reports and tariff speeches were the greatest we ever had, like Gladstone's budgets and fiscal speeches. No one who has studied them understandingly will deny this. It would be equally unfair to both of these statesmen to assume for a moment that in consequence of this they were one-sided men. That they were dealers in schedules, promoters of budgets, dreary experts, whose knowledge was only needed when the finances of the country were in distress through the folly of less competent rulers, but who could be thrown on one side when their particular fiscal measures, each framed with care and suitable to the needs of their respective countries, were enacted into law, and the ship of state once more in smooth waters.

Such a view would be as unjust and unwarranted of McKinley as it would be of Gladstone. McKinley stands to-day in the prime of life, a vigorous, living

force in the body politic of his country, as capable intellectually of undertaking and carrying through any great measure which the necessities of the Republic may require, as Gladstone was of doing the same thing a generation ago in England. As will be shown further along in this chapter, no great question has arisen and no great opportunity occurred within the period of McKinley's life, of serving his country faithfully, that he has not exhibited capacity and willingness to do so. He was a boy of seventeen when the war broke out, and at that age evinced patriotism and love of country, and a desire to learn the practical arts of war on the battle-field. Thus his studies of military affairs had a foundation in a rich practical experience which has enabled him to grasp with wonderful clearness all the questions he has been called upon to deal with in civil life, relating to military matters and pensions. His orations and studies of the lives of such military commanders as Grant, Garfield, Logan and Hayes are examples of practical knowledge as well as literary and oratorical skill. In all legislation relating to the soldier, the voice of McKinley has had no uncertain sound. His own experience on the National battle-fields brought him in closer sympathy with the veterans of the Civil War than those statesmen who were not able to engage in active service in the front, but devoted their attention to what they termed pure questions of statesmanship. In a speech on the payment of pensions in the House of Representatives, June 22, 1886, McKinley said:

I say that is not fair; that is not frank; that is not manly. If we have no money in the treasury to pay the pensions of our worthy and dependent soldiers, let us put some there; let us provide means to increase our revenues, let us increase taxation.

Again, on February 24, 1887, when irritated and humiliated by the assaults on the old soldier, McKinley exclaimed:

If I believed, as the gentleman from Wisconsin believes, that the beneficiaries under this bill were "good-for-nothing shirks," "scoundrels" and "vagabonds," I should not vote for the passage of the bill over the veto of the President, nor should I have voted for it when it first came to the House; but I do not believe with the gentleman from Wisconsin, that the beneficiaries of this bill are either "shirks" or "vagabonds" or "good-for-nothing scoundrels." I do believe that there are thousands scattered all over this country who fought as bravely as the gentleman from Wisconsin fought, although they are not here to tell of their heroic deeds, their lofty courage and glorious achievements. And though they never "rode down the line amid the huzzas of their comrades," as the gentleman tells us it was his wont to do—for these brave men were generally afoot, and without horses, and foot-sore and weary marched to the command of duty—they were the soldiers of the country, the rank and file, fighting for the maintenance of the Union. These are the men that the bill applies to.

In concluding this stirring speech, McKinley, who had been himself one of the rank and file, said:

Between private charity or the poorhouse this bill says neither, but in lieu of both the generous bounty of the Government. Is not that right; is it not a simple act of justice; is it not humane; is it not the instinct of a decent humanity and our Christian civilization? Where is the wrong? Wherein is the robbery of the Treasury? These soldiers are cared for now by private or municipal bounty. They are cared for by the communities and counties in which they reside, in some instances by taxation, in others at the hand of charity. What course so fitting as the way pointed out by this bill, by the Nation they served, from its own treasury; and upon whom or what does the obligation rest so strongly and urgently as upon the Nation itself? It is but discharging an honorable obligation upon the part of the Government, and expresses its gratitude to its volunteer defenders upon land and sea. It seems to me that the bill is in every way warranted by duty and our situation. That it takes much or little money does not affect its righteousness or justice; that consideration can only apply to our condition and our ability to meet the contemplated expenditure. The larger the class thus dependent and totally disabled only appeals the stronger to our patriotic feeling and duty, and makes greater and more commanding the necessity for this measure, and the greater the disgrace and inhumanity to withhold it.

In this last sentiment we have the exhibition of the broadest possible statesmanship. In fact, an unanswerable argument in a few brief words to the claims of the ungrateful that the patriotism of those who wrecked their health and shed their blood for the Union should be measured in dollars and cents.

Another memorable utterance of McKinley's was his speech on pensions and the public debt, at Canton, Ohio, May 30, 1891. In this speech he exhibited a carefully prepared statement, showing the decrease of the interest on the public debt from 1867 to 1891. In the former year the pension roll was $20,936,000, and the interest on the public debt $143,781,000, making a total of $164,717,000. In the latter year, the interest on the public debt had been reduced to $32,100,000, but the pension roll had increased to $126,000,000. The two items aggregated $158,100,000 in 1891 as against $164,717,000 in 1867. Commenting on this, McKinley said:

We have paid off the greater part of the public debt, and reduced the annual interest to $32,100,000 as against $143,781,000 in 1867. It will be observed that the two items of pensions and interest on the public debt in 1891 are less than the two items were in 1867. The Government has almost extinguished its debt to the bondholders, stamped out every suggestion of repudiation of that debt, and it proposes now to keep faith with its other sacred creditors—the soldiers and sailors who saved the Nation. The soldiers waited for their pensions, patiently waited, patriotically waited, while the Government was struggling under the mighty burden of money debt incurred by the war. They stood firmly for the payment of that debt; they resisted every form of repudiation under any guise. They have saved the country in war, they helped to keep its financial honor free from stain in peace. The great war debt is almost paid. Who shall say that the other Government obligation shall not be as sacredly kept? Pen-

sions are less expensive than standing armies, and attest the gratitude of a free and generous people.

In the courageous fight which Speaker Reed made on the question of a quorum, he had no more steadfast and capable supporter on the floor of the House than McKinley. McKinley appreciated the importance and gravity of the question confronting the Republican party at that time, as fully as any of our leaders. He knew that the question involved was important not only to the majority but to the minority. That it was important not only at that time, but for future action, and furthermore he realized its supreme importance to the people of the United States. It is not likely at this time, however, that either Reed or McKinley expected that in so short a time after this fierce fight had been made to secure majority rules, the Democratic party and the self-same leaders who fought the Republicans at that time would be obliged to take advantage of Reed's rules in order to control the House of Representatives, in which they were largely in the majority.

Those who will take the pains to go to the Congressional Record, and study McKinley's speeches and look over the debate, would indeed return from such an expedition satisfied that his mental grasp of this question was as comprehensive and statesmanlike as that of any Republican leader.

What is this question? What are we contending about? We are contending as to how it shall be ascertained that we have a constitutional majority present in

the House. We insist, and the Speaker's ruling so declares, that members in their seats shall be counted for the purpose of making a quorum, and that their refusal to respond to their names upon a call of the roll, though present, shall not deprive this House of moving in the discharge of great public duties and stop all legislation. Gentlemen on the other side insist upon what? That they shall perpetuate a fiction—that is what it is—that they shall perpetuate a fiction because they say it is hoary with age, a fiction that declares that although members are present in their seats they shall be under a fiction to be constructively absent. That is what they are contending for. We are contending that this shall be a fact and a truth, not a fiction and a falsehood, and that members who sit in their seats in this Hall shall be counted present, because they are present. They want the Journal to declare a lie; we want the Journal to declare the truth. And it is the truth that hurts their position and makes it indefensible; it is the continuance of the fiction that they invoke in justification of that position. It is about time to stop these legal fictions.

Let us be honest with each other and with the country; let us defeat bills in a constitutional way, if we can, or not at all; give freedom of debate, opportunity of amendment, the yea and nay vote, by which the judgment and will of every Representative can be expressed and responsibility fixed where it belongs, and we will preserve our own self-respect, give force to the Constitution of the country we have sworn to obey, and serve the people whose trust we hold. Why, this controversy is to determine whether a majority shall rule and govern, or be subject to the tyranny of a minority. Talk about the tyranny of the majority; the tyranny

of the minority is infinitely more odious and intolerable and more to be feared than that of the majority. The position of the gentlemen on the other side means that they will either rule or ruin, although they are in the minority. We insist that while we are in the majority they shall do neither.

MR. CRISP. If the gentleman has his majority here, he need not ask us to assist.

The gentleman is not only entitled to have his own majority here, but he is entitled to have the legally elected representatives of the people here, and here always.

MR. CRISP. In the language of Mr. Blaine, I deny utterly that you have any right to say I shall be present or vote except as the constitution gives you the right to require my attendance.

I know you deny it, and we are discussing whether that denial is right or wrong. That is the issue—whether it is true or whether it is false; and the country and an enlightened public will settle the issue between us. I say we have settled one question—settled it, I trust, for all time; settled it at a good deal of cost, it is true—that the minority can not ruin this Government; and we intend, if we can, under the Constitution and the laws, in broad daylight and in the presence of 63,000,000 people, whose deliberate judgment we invite upon our acts to-day, to determine whether the constitutional majority legally chosen to this House shall do the business of this House.

The passage of words in the above extract between Mr. Crisp and McKinley illustrates the latter's skill as a debater. It is doubtful if any of the eminent gentlemen present on the floor could have done

any better than this. Throughout this debate McKinley held Mr. Crisp firmly down to the real issue, and closed with as concise and clear a statement of the whole question at issue as it would have been possible to prepare with deliberation in the tranquility of the study.

During his more active career in Congress, the civil service reform question has come up only each year for discussion in the annual appropriation bills. All demands on the part of the Democratic party to cripple the civil service law by reducing the appropriations for its execution, have met with a prompt and decisive opposition from McKinley, who has invariably favored giving the commission all the appropriation that they asked for the improvement and extension of the system. He has contended upon every occasion, both in Congress and out, that if the Republican party of this country is pledged to any one thing more than another, it is to the maintenance of the civil service law and its efficient execution. Not only has he thus expressed himself, but upon more than one occasion he has come out flat-footed in favor of its enlargement and its further application to the public service. The writer remembers the vigorous answer that McKinley gave in the House of Representatives, April 24, 1890, to one of those annual attempts to cripple the civil service. He took the ground that the law as it stands upon the statute books was put there by Republican votes, and that it was a Republican measure. He called attention to the fact that every National platform of

the Republican party since its enactment has declared not only in favor of its continuance in full vigor, but in favor of its enlargement so as to apply more generally to the public service. Continuing, he said:

And this is not alone the declaration and purpose of the Republican party, but it is in accord with its highest and best sentiments—aye, more, it is sustained by the best sentiment of the whole country, Republican and Democratic alike. There is not a man on this floor who does not know that no party in this country, Democratic or Republican, will have the courage to wipe it from the statute-book or amend it save in the direction of its improvement.

Look at our situation to-day. When the Republican party has full control of all the branches of the Government, it is proposed to annul this law of ours by withholding appropriations for its execution, when for four years under a Democratic administration nobody on this side of the House had the temerity to rise in his place and make a motion similar to the one now pending for the nullification of the law. We thought it was good then, good enough for a Republican administration; and I say to my Republican associates, it is good enough for a Republican administration; it is good and wholesome for the whole country. If the law is not administered in letter and spirit impartially, the President can and will supply the remedy.

The Republican party must take no step backward. The merit system is here, and it is here to stay; and we may just as well understand and accept it now, and give our attention to correcting the abuses, if any exist, and improving the law wherever it can be done to the advantage of the public service.

In concluding this chapter, it will be observed that McKinley's views of the several important questions herein discussed cover as wide a range as those of any of our leading statesmen. They certainly do not indicate that the popular statesman who has mastered with such consummate skill the details of the tariff is either a narrow-minded man or a man of one idea. It has been the endeavor to let McKinley speak for himself in this chapter, and this plan will be adopted as far as possible throughout this volume. He certainly speaks well.

CHAPTER XXII.

THE POLICY OF PROTECTION.

Review of McKinley's Early Tariff Speeches—A Friend of Judge William D. Kelley—Fight Against Morrison Horizontal Bill in 1884—McKinley Turns the Tables on the Veteran Leader—Leading the Opposition to the Mills Attack on our Industries in 1888—A Stupendous Piece of Work—Hearing Tariff Appeals in His Rooms at the Ebbitt House—A Great Protection Speech.

IT is impossible in this chapter to do more than review briefly what may be regarded as the official utterances and reports by McKinley on the tariff question. Beginning with the speech on the Wood tariff bill, delivered in the House of Representatives April 15, 1878, and closing with his speech in favor of the tariff bill of 1890, which, as chairman of the Ways and Means Committee, McKinley reported to the House, and which was subsequently passed, and is known throughout the world as the McKinley tariff of 1890.

In such a necessarily brief review of speeches covering a period of twelve years, it will be impossible to touch on anything but the salient features. The aim will be to give the reader an idea of McKinley's own views on the fiscal legislation which bears alike upon the revenue of the Government and the pros-

perity of American industries and labor. That this may be done with exactitude it is better to quote the precise words whenever possible, because by so doing the reader is given the shades of meaning which a mere summary of a man's ideas is often incapable of conveying.

It would be impossible to study the speeches of McKinley with any degree of care without being struck by the fact that he has been actuated in his advocacy of a protective tariff by the highest sense of public duty. Many of the prominent statesmen in his own party have at times wavered on the tariff question. McKinley never has. There is nothing in his speech on the Wood tariff bill, delivered seventeen years ago, that could not be published as his platform of principles to-day. It is not meant by this that the man himself has not broadened in that period, and that his speeches have not immeasurably improved. It does mean, however, that he opposed the Wood bill because of a strong conviction that the proposed measure would, if it had been enacted, have been nothing short of a public calamity. For this reason we find him, in 1882, advocating a friendly revision of the tariff by a Tariff Commission, to be authorized by Congress and appointed by the President.

A year later he took up and discussed, with great ability the tariff bill of 1883, which was the result of the labors of the Tariff Commission. The two strongest advocates of this bill, which became a law March, 1883, were the late William D. Kelley of

Pennsylvania, then chairman of the Ways and Means Committee, and McKinley. The writer was the intimate friend of Judge Kelley, and recollects the generous praise which that great tariff advocate accorded McKinley upon the occasion of the passage of the bill. Judge Kelley recognized the rising statesman, and over and over again he reiterated the fact that McKinley had distanced all his colleagues in mastering the details of the tariff.

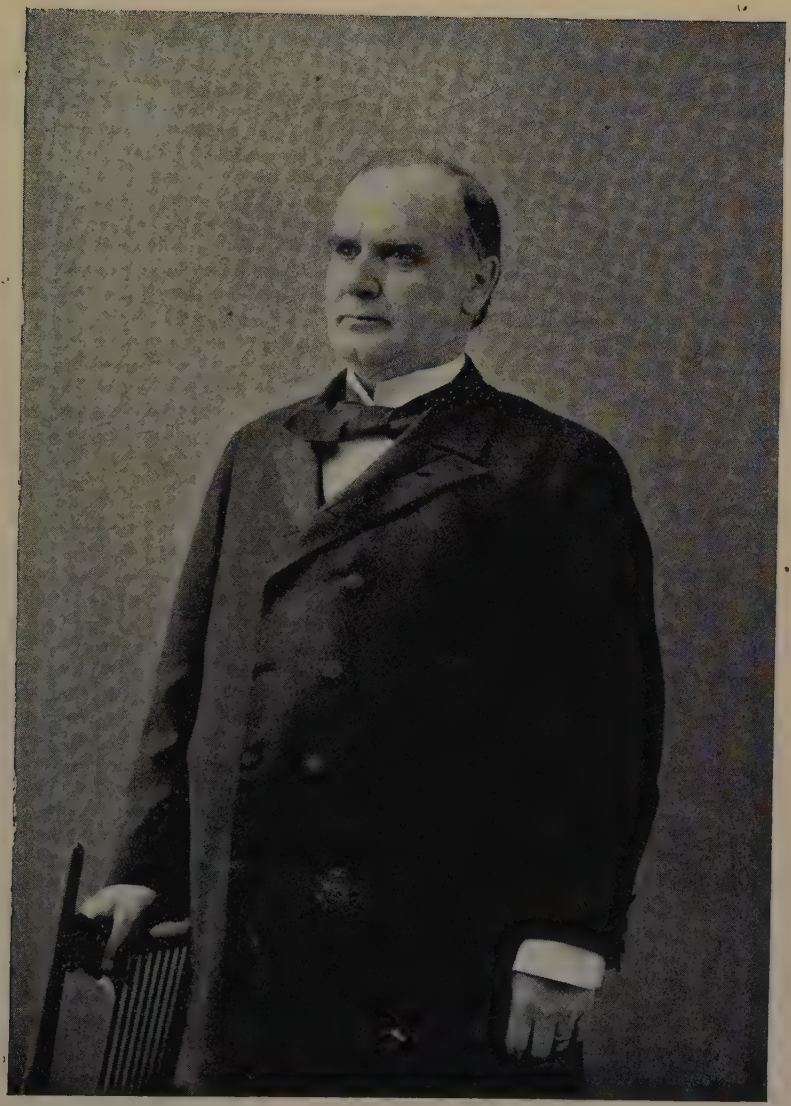
As a member of the Tariff Commission of 1882,* it was not unnatural that the author of this volume should have watched with intense interest the tariff debate of 1883. It was upon this occasion that McKinley planted so firmly the protection banner upon the ramparts of the Republican party. He then and there took the ground that the farmers, for whose special interest the Democratic party assumed to speak, did not ask for the reduced tariff; that they wanted to produce and wanted the laboring men in the factories to consume their products and pay a good price for them. The farmers, he declared, have no desire to break down manufacturing and transfer the vast army of men who are consumers and who work in the shops to the ranks of the pro-

*This Commission was appointed by President Arthur, June 7, 1882, confirmed by the Senate, and, as finally constituted, was as follows: John L. Hayes of Massachusetts, chairman; Henry W. Oliver, Jr. of Pennsylvania; Austin M. Garland of Illinois; Jacob A. Ambler of Ohio; Robert P. Porter of the District of Columbia; John W. H. Underwood of Georgia; Duncan F. Kenner of Louisiana; Alexander F. Boteler of West Virginia; and William H. McMahon of New York.

ducers to become competitors with them. They, he truly remarked, want a market, and protection enables them to have it; and above and beyond all, the business interests wanted a settlement of the question.

Agitation, he said, was paralyzing business, creating uncertainty and distrust of the future. The highest statesmanship demanded a prompt and speedy disposition of the whole question. McKinley's remarks on the tariff bill of 1883 read, in the light of events, more like a prophecy than a political speech. He foretold precisely what happened ten years later. Had these words been heeded then, we should have had no "object lesson" which cost the country a sum equivalent to the cost of the civil war. But Democrats are Democrats, and no amount of persuasion, no amount of facts, no amount of eloquence, could convince them they were wrong.

One year later, April 30, 1884, we find McKinley, now regarded as the champion of American protection, opposing the Morrison horizontal bill, which he denounced as too ambiguous and uncertain for a great public statute. He pointed out with wonderful force and exactitude that, if passed, it would involve dispute and contention upon nearly every invoice, and would lead to frequent, expensive and annoying litigation. But these, of course, were minor objections to his mind; the principle was wrong, and upon that ground he based his strongest opposition. The discussion of the Morrison bill enabled McKinley to answer with telling force some



M'KINLEY IN 1895.

of the criticisms that had been made by Democrats in a previous Congress of the Republican policy of appointing a commission. The opposition had claimed that Judge Kelley, McKinley and his friends had not sufficient ability to frame a tariff bill themselves, and, therefore, "farmed out" the subject to a commission of nine experts. Much opprobrium was sought to be put upon the majority because of its alleged abrogation of a Constitutional duty. One accustomed to public debate can appreciate the opportunity which McKinley had when Morrison brought in this same identical bill which had been framed by the Tariff Commission and proposed simply a horizontal reduction of 20 per cent. all around. In speaking of this absurd proposal, made by Mr. Morrison of Illinois, McKinley said:

What can be said of the capacity of the majority of the Committee on Ways and Means as evidenced by the bill now before us? It is a confession upon its face of absolute incapacity to grapple with the great subject. The Morrison bill will never be suspected of having passed the scrutiny of intelligent experts like the Tariff Commission. This is a revision by the cross-cut process. It gives no evidences of the expert's skill. It is the invention of indolence—I will not say of ignorance, for the gentlemen of the majority of the Committee on Ways and Means are competent to prepare a tariff bill. I repeat, it is not only the invention of indolence, but it is the mechanism of a botch workman A thousand times better refer the question to an intelligent Commission, which will study the question in its relations to the

revenues and industries of the country, than to submit to a bill like this.

They have determined upon doing something, no matter how mischievous, that looks to the reduction of import duties; and doing it, too, in spite of the fact that not a single request has come either from the great producing or great consuming classes of the United States for any change in the direction proposed. With the power in their hands they have determined to put the knife in, no matter where it cuts nor how much blood it draws. It is the volunteer surgeon, unbidden, insisting upon using the knife upon a body that is strong and healthy; needing only rest and release from the quack whose skill is limited to the horizontal amputation, and whose science is barren of either knowledge or discrimination. And then it is not to stop with one horizontal slash; it is to be followed by another and still another, until there is nothing left either of life or hope. And the *doctrinaires* will then have seen an exemplification of their pet science in the destruction of the great productive interests of the country, and "the starving poor," as denominated by the majority, will be found without work, shelter or food. The sentiment of this country is against any such indiscriminate proposition. The petitions before the Ways and Means Committee from twenty to thirty States of this Union appeal to Congress to let the tariff rest where it is, in general, while others are equally importunate to have the duties on two or three classes of American products raised. The laboring men are unanimous against this bill. These appeals should not go unheeded. The farmers for whom you talk so eloquently, have not asked for it. There is no appeal from any American interest for this legislation.

It is well, if this bill is to go into force, that on yesterday the other branch of Congress, the Senate, passed a Bankruptcy bill. It is a fitting corollary to the Morrison bill; it is a proper and a necessary companion. The Senate has done wisely, in anticipation of our action here, in providing legal means for settling with creditors, for wiping out balances, and rolling from the shoulders of our people the crushing burdens which this bill will impose.

Again, in 1888, we find McKinley leading the fight against another assault on American industries, this time the one proposed by Representative Mills of Texas, known as the Mills tariff bill. The Mills bill was forced upon the country in a peculiar and unusual manner. The schedules were not taken up publicly and discussed by public hearings. Specially appointed committees, comprised of one or two members, were held, and they considered the work, without reference to public testimony. Having completed the schedule to thus suit their own ideas, they were ready to doom the great industries of the country. It was finally presented one day, ready made, by the chairman of the committee, Mr. Mills. It was framed, completed and printed without the knowledge of the minority, and without consideration or discussion in the full committee.

This naturally surprised McKinley and the other Republican members. Every effort had been made on the part of the minority to obtain from the majority the facts and information upon which they constructed the bill. It had all proved unavailing.

In almost daily relations with McKinley at this time, the writer well remembers how justly incensed he was at the treatment accorded the minority. But this attempt to take advantage of an honorable minority, bad as it was, was not as serious in the eyes of McKinley as the treatment accorded the great industrial and laboring interests of the country. Commenting on this action at the time, he said:

> The industries of the country, located in every section of the Union, representing vast interests closely related to the prosperity of the country, touching practically every home and fireside in the land, which were to be affected by the bill, were denied a hearing; the majority shut the doors of the committee against all examinations of producers, consumers and experts, whose testimony might have enlightened the committee. The farmers, whose investments and products were to be disastrously dealt with, were denied an opportunity to address the committee. The workingmen of the country, whose wages were at stake, were denied audience. The Representatives on the floor of the House were not permitted to voice the wants of their constituents. Proposing a grave measure, which would affect all of the people in their employments, their labor and their incomes, the majority persistently refused the people the right of hearing and discussion; denied them the simple privilege of presenting reasons and arguments against their proposed action.

The views of the minority of the Ways and Means Committee, which were written by McKinley, form one of the ablest tariff documents ever prepared, and

will remain for all time to come a masterly public document. He spent many laborious evenings in his room at the Ebbitt House, preparing this report. The appeals which the majority of the committee had refused to listen to, were poured into McKinley's ears, not only by letter and petition from all sorts and conditions of men in all parts of the Union, but by the personal appeals of committees representing labor organizations, industrial associations and all the varied interests that are affected by tariff legislation. It was a great piece of work, and stamped McKinley as a master of detail. It, furthermore, brought out his remarkable aptitude for condensing and putting into readable form vast masses of information and all kinds of statistical data.

One paragraph of this report is herewith quoted:

The bill is a radical reversal of the tariff policy of the country which for the most part has prevailed since the foundation of the Government, and under which we have made industrial and agricultural progress without a parallel in the world's history. If enacted into law, it will disturb every branch of business, retard manufacturing and agricultural prosperity, and seriously impair our industrial independence. It undertakes to revise our entire revenue system; substantially all of the tariff schedules are affected; both classification and rates are changed. Specific duties are in many cases changed to *ad valorem*, which all experience has shown is productive of frauds and undervaluations. It does not correct the irregularities of the present tariff; it only aggravates them. It introduces uncertainties in interpretation, which will

embarrass its administration, promote contention and litigation, and give to the customs officers a latitude of construction which will produce endless controversy and confusion. It is marked with a sectionalism which every patriotic citizen must deplore. Its construction takes no account of the element of labor which enters into production, and in a number of instances makes the finished or advanced product free, or dutiable at a less rate than the materials from which it is made. "The poor man's blanket," which the majority has made a burning issue for so many years, is made to bear the same rate of duty as the rich man's. More than one-third of the free list is made up from the products of the farm, the forest and the mine; from products which are now dutiable at the minimum rates, ranging from seven to twenty-five per cent. and even this slight protection, so essential, is to be taken from the farmers, the lumbermen and the quarrymen.

Some people contend that McKinley's speech on the Mills tariff bill, May 18, 1888, which followed a few weeks after the report above referred to, was one of the ablest, if not the ablest speech ever made in defense of the policy of protection. It is undoubtedly true that in this magnificent appeal to the patriotism of our representatives in Congress, McKinley scored some tremendous points in favor of a protective tariff. The writer was in the gallery and heard every word of it. The effect was electrifying, not so much on account of the eloquence of the speaker, because, as has been said before, there are more eloquent speakers than McKinley. His earnestness,

his knowledge, his grasp of the facts, his clearness in going fearlessly to the bottom of the strongest arguments which his adversaries could advance, convinced every one who listened that he was the master of that situation. Among other things he said:

What is a protective tariff? It is a tariff upon foreign imports so adjusted as to secure the necessary revenue, and judiciously imposed upon those foreign products the like of which are produced at home, or the like of which we are capable of producing at home. It imposes the duty upon the competing foreign product; it makes it bear the burden or duty, and, as far as possible, luxuries only excepted, permits the noncompeting foreign product to come in free of duty. Articles of common use, comfort and necessity, which we cannot produce here, it sends to the people untaxed and free from custom-house exactions. Tea, coffee, spices and drugs are such articles, and under our system are upon the free list. It says to our foreign competitor: If you want to bring your merchandise here, your farm products here, your coal and iron ore, your wool, your salt, your pottery, your glass, your cottons and woolens, and sell alongside of our producers in our markets, we will make your product bear a duty; in effect, pay for the privilege of doing it. Our kind of tariff makes the competing foreign article carry the burden, draw the load, supply the revenue; and in performing this essential office it encourages at the same time our own industries and protects our own people in their chosen employments. That is the mission and purpose of a protective tariff. That is what we mean to maintain, and any measure which will destroy it we shall firmly resist; and if beaten on this floor, we

will appeal from your decision to the people, before whom parties and policies must at last be tried. We have free trade among ourselves throughout thirty-eight States and the Territories, and among sixty millions of people. Absolute freedom of exchange within our own borders and among our own citizens, is the law of the Republic. Reasonable taxation and restraint upon those without is the dictate of enlightened patriotism and the doctrine of the Republican party.

Free trade in the United States is founded upon a community of equalities and reciprocities. It is like the unrestrained freedom and reciprocal relations and obligations of a family. Here we are one country, one language, one allegiance, one standard of citizenship, one flag, one Constitution, one Nation, one destiny. It is otherwise with foreign nations, each a separate organism, a distinct and independent political society, organized for its own, to protect its own, and work out its own destiny. We deny to those foreign nations free trade with us upon equal terms with our own producers. The foreign producer has no right or claim to equality with our own. He is not amenable to our laws. There are resting upon him none of the obligations of citizenship. He pays no taxes. He performs no civil duties; he is subject to no demands for military service. He is exempt from State, county and municipal obligations. He contributes nothing to the support, the progress and glory of the Nation. Why should he enjoy unrestrained equal privileges and profits in our markets with our producers, our labor and our taxpayers? Let the gentleman who follows me answer. We put a burden upon his productions, we discriminate against his merchandise, because he is alien to us and our interests, and we do it to protect our own,

defend our own, preserve our own, who are always with us in adversity and prosperity, in sympathy and purpose, and, if necessary, in sacrifice. That is the principle which governs us. I submit it is a patriotic and righteous one. In our country each citizen competes with the other in free and unresentful rivalry, while with the rest of the world all are united and together in resisting outside competition as we would foreign interference.

Free foreign trade admits the foreigner to equal privileges with our own citizens. It invites the product of foreign cheap labor to this market in competition with the domestic product, representing higher and better paid labor. It results in giving our money, our manufactures and our markets to other nations, to the injury of our labor, our trades people and our farmers. Protection keeps money, markets and manufactures at home for the benefit of our own people. It is scarcely worth while to more than state the proposition that taxation upon a foreign competing product is more easily paid and less burdensome than taxation upon the noncompeting product. In the latter it is always added to the foreign cost, and therefore paid by the consumer, while in the former, where the duty is upon the competing product, it is largely paid in the form of diminished profits to the foreign producer. It would be burdensome beyond endurance to collect our taxes from the products, professions and labor of our own people.

In closing this speech, McKinley spoke as follows upon the general effect of a protective system upon our people in their employments:

There is no conflict of interests and should be none between the several classes of producers and the consumers

in the United States. Their interests are one, interrelated and interdependent. That which benefits one benefits all; one man's work has relation to every other man's work in the same community; each is an essential part of the grand result to be attained, and that statesmanship which would seek to array the one against the other for any purpose, is narrow, unworthy and unpatriotic. The President's message is unhappily in that direction. The discussion had on this floor taken that turn. Both have been calculated to create antagonisms where none existed. The farmer, the manufacturer, the laborer, the tradesman, the producer and the consumer all have a common interest in the maintenance of a protective tariff. All are alike and equally favored by the system which you seek to overthrow. It is a National system, broad and universal in its application; if otherwise, it should be abandoned. It cannot be invoked for one section or one interest, to the exclusion of others. It must be general in its application within the contemplation of the principle upon which the system is founded. We have been living under it for twenty-seven continuous years, and it can be asserted with confidence that no country in the world has achieved such industrial advancement, and such marvelous progress in art, science and civilization, as ours. Tested by its results, it has surpassed all other revenue systems.

From 1789 to 1888, a period of ninety-nine years, there has been forty-seven years when a Democratic revenue-tariff policy has prevailed, and fifty-two years under the protective policy, and it is a noteworthy fact that the most progressive and prosperous periods of our history in every department of human effort and material development were during the fifty-two years when

the protective party was in control and protective tariffs were maintained; and the most disastrous years—years of want and wretchedness, ruin and retrogression, eventuating in insufficient revenues and shattered credits, individual and National—were during the free-trade or revenue-tariff eras of our history. No man lives who passed through any of the latter periods but would dread their return and would flee from them as he would escape from fire and pestilence; and I believe the party which promotes their return will merit and receive popular condemnation. What is the trouble with our present condition? No country can point to greater prosperity or more enduring evidences of substantial progess among all the people. Too much money is being collected, it is said. We say, stop it; not by indiscriminate and vicious legislation, but by simple business methods. Do it on simple, practical lines, and we will help you. Buy up the bonds, objectionable as it may be, and pay the Nation's debt, if you cannot reduce taxation. You could have done this long ago. Nobody is chargeable for the failure and delay but your own administration.

Who is objecting to our protective system? From what quarter does the complaint come? Not from the enterprising American citizen; not from the manufacturer; not from the laborer, whose wages it improves; not from the consumer, for he is fully satisfied, because under it he buys a cheaper and better product than he did under the other system; not from the farmer, for he finds among the employes of the protected industries his best and most reliable customers; not from the merchant or the tradesman, for every hive of industry increases the number of his customers and enlarges the volume of his

trade. Few, indeed, have been the petitions presented to this House asking for any reduction of duties upon imports. None, that I have ever seen or heard of, and I have watched with the deepest interest the number and character of these petitions, that I might gather from them the drift of public sentiment. I say I have seen none asking for the passage of this bill, or for any such departure from the fiscal policy of the Government so long recognized and followed, while against this legislation there has been no limit to petitions, memorials, prayers and protests, from the producer and consumer alike. This measure is not called for by the people; it is not an American measure; it is inspired by importers and foreign producers, most of them aliens, who want to diminish our trade and increase their own; who want to decrease our prosperity and augment theirs, and who have no interest in this country except what they can make out of it. To this is added the influence of the professors in some of our institutions of learning, who teach the science contained in books, and not that of practical business. I would rather have my political economy founded upon the every-day experience of the puddler or the potter, than the learning of the professor, or the farmer and factory hand than the college faculty. Then there is another class who want protective tariffs overthrown. They are the men of independent wealth, with settled and steady incomes, who want everything cheap but currency; the value of everything clipped but coin—cheap labor but dear money. These are the elements which are arrayed against us.

Men whose capital is invested in productive enterprises, who take the risks of business, men who expend their capital and energy in the development of our re-

sources, are in favor of the maintenance of the protective system. The farmer, the rice-grower, the miner, the vast army of wage-earners from one end of the country to the other, the chief producers of wealth, men whose capital is their brain and muscle, who aspire to better their condition and elevate themselves and their fellows; the young man whose future is yet before him, and which he must carve out with his hand and head, who is without the aid of fortune or of a long ancestral line—these are our steadfast allies in this great contest for the preservation of the American system. Experience and results in our own country are the best advisers, and they vindicate beyond the possibilities of dispute the worth and wisdom of the system.

The Mills bill, with all its incongruities and dangerous experiments with our industries, passed the House of Representatives, but was finally defeated in the Senate. The Republican party made the issue of the Presidential election of 1888 on the bill. They went to the country with McKinley's minority report, with his exhaustive speech already quoted from, and with the admirable report prepared under the direction of Senators Allison, Hiscock and Aldrich. Thus armed, the Republicans of all parts of the country pushed the tariff issue to the front, and brought it home to the people in one of the most vigorous campaigns in our political history and closed by triumphantly electing Benjamin Harrison President, and returning a protection majority in both houses of Congress. This was, undoubtedly, McKinley's first great victory, and the results may

in no small degree be attributed to his ten years of incessant and enthusiastic advocacy of a protective tariff. We have seen that as far back as 1878, in his speech on the Wood tariff bill, that he put the tariff issue on a higher plane than it had occupied since the time of Henry Clay. In other words, he put it above and beyond all other measures. This was a political innovation, for the Republican platform of 1876 had hardly made it an issue at all, and it was not until 1880 that it appeared as a prominent feature in the Republican platform. While himself an advocate of the tariff bill of 1883, he never shared the opinions of a large number of less enthusiastic Republican leaders who were inclined to advocate what were called all-round reductions of duty—that is, reductions of duties, irrespective of the condition of an industry. The victory, therefore, of 1888, while electing Benjamin Harrison President, was in fact the strongest endorsement of the views which William McKinley had been persistently contending for, in and out of Congress, for ten years.

CHAPTER XXIII.

THE McKINLEY TARIFF LAW.

Principles on Which It was Constructed—Business Interests and Labor Consulted—The Most Carefully Prepared Tariff Law Ever Enacted—The Changes It Brought About — McKinley's Aim to Benefit the United States—Desire to Give Additional Employment to American Labor and Prosperity to American Homes—Tin Plate.

IT is proposed in this chapter to give a brief account of the reasons for the introduction and passage of what is generally known as the McKinley tariff law, together with a discussion of the principles upon which it was constructed. The election of 1888 had passed upon the question of protection. In spite of all the Democratic leaders could do to straddle the real issue, the Republican leaders were able, through the ill-advised message which Grover Cleveland, then President of the United States, sent to Congress, to hold them down to the real issue before the country, namely, protection or free trade. It is doubtful if the tariff question was ever so intelligently presented and discussed as during this campaign. The Democrats were in power and had all the advantages of patronage and a vast army of office-holders. The popular House was Democratic. The

Mills bill had passed the House of Representatives and was only thrown out by a small majority in the Senate. There was no mistaking what that bill meant. It was as bad in all essential points as the Wilson bill, which likewise passed the House of Representatives in 1894. In repudiating the President's message and the Mills bill, it was natural that Republican leaders who had the courage of their convictions should construe this to mean that hereafter the tariff policy of the United States had been decided in favor of protection, and that what was needed was a bill framed in the interests of American industry and American labor. On the assembling of Congress, December, 1889, a Ways and Means Committee, with McKinley for chairman, was formed, and that committee at once proceeded to prepare a bill which had for its object the double purpose of reducing the then surplus revenue and of strengthening and harmonizing the several schedules of the tariff law. So sure were the business interests of the country that no harm could come to any American interests in this tariff revision, that there was hardly a ripple in industrial, commercial or financial circles. The work progressed in the most business-like manner. Hearings were given to all interests likely to be affected, those of the manufacturer, importer or laborer. Not a single interest in the country that asked for a hearing before the Ways and Means Committee while McKinley was chairman of it, was refused. Manufacturers, laborers, consumers, importers, consigners and consignees,

free traders and protectionists, all who presented themselves at the door of the Committee on Ways and Means, were heard. In the morning at half past nine o'clock the committee met, and sat continuously until eleven to hear gentlemen dilate upon the several schedules of the tariff. At the outset McKinley announced that the committee would meet and continue to meet and hear all the great interests of the country until the bill was finally passed through the House.

In this respect the work resembled that of the Tariff Commission of 1882. This Commission visited over thirty cities in the United States, and took the testimony of over seven hundred witnesses of all grades of political and economic faith, before it prepared its tariff report and bill. The part McKinley took in the tariff of 1890 was simply Herculean. He not only devoted all day to the Committee work, but every night he was visited by those anxious to give information on the innumerable items which go to make up the schedules of a tariff act.

Not only was great attention given to the schedule of rates, but great improvements were introduced in what are known as the administrative sections of the tariff law.

When completed, the tariff bill of 1890 was undoubtedly the most complete, most harmonious and the most truly patriotic tariff law ever framed by an American Congress. In presenting it to the House, McKinley took the ground that it was not necessary for him to enter into an extended discussion of the

two economic systems which divided parties in the United States. As we have seen in the preceding chapter, for two years both branches of Congress had been occupied in discussions before the people of these contending theories of taxation. In short, from December, 1887, to March 4, 1889, no public question ever received, in Congress or out, such scrutinizing investigation as that of the tariff. Holding these views, it did not seem necessary to McKinley at that time to do more than present his bill and explain the proposed changes it involved. This he did in a speech in the House of Representatives, May 7, 1890. In his opening remarks, he said:

If any one thing was settled by the election of 1888, it was that the protective policy, as promulgated in the Republican platform, and heretofore inaugurated and maintained by the Republican party, should be secured in any fiscal legislation to be had by the Congress chosen in that great contest and upon that mastering issue. I have interpreted that victory to mean, and the majority in this House and in the Senate to mean, that a revision of the tariff is not only demanded by the votes of the people, but that such revision should be on the line and in full recognition of the principle and purpose of protection. The people have spoken; they want their will registered and their decree embodied in public legislation. The bill which the Committee on Ways and Means have presented is their answer and interpretation of that victory, and in accordance with its spirit and letter and purpose. We have not been compelled to abolish the internal-revenue system that we might preserve the protective system, which we were pledged to do in the event

that the abolition of the one was essential to the preservation of the other. That was unnecessary.

The bill does not amend or modify any part of the internal-revenue taxes applicable to spirits or fermented liquors. It abolishes all the special taxes and licenses, so called, imposed upon the manufacture of tobacco, cigars and snuff, and dealers thereof, reduces the tax upon manufactured tobacco from eight to four cents per pound, and removes all restrictions now imposed upon the growers of tobacco. With these exceptions, the internal-revenue laws are left undisturbed. From this source we reduce taxation over $70,000,000, and leave with the people this direct tax which has been paid by them upon their own products through a long series of years.

The tariff part of the bill contemplates and proposes a complete revision. It not only changes the rates of duty, but modifies the general provisions of the law relating to the collection of duties. These modifications have received the approval of the Treasury Department, and are set forth in detail in the report of the committee, and I will not weary you by restating them.

One of the most radical changes made by this law, and one of the most just, and, as future events have shown, one of the wisest, was the advance in the duty on tin plate. For many years, through a technical error, the duty on tin plate had been less than the duty on the material (sheet iron) out of which it was made. The Tariff Commission took strong ground on this question and recommended the placing of tin plate in the class to which it belonged. In

the report made to Congress by the Tariff Commission in 1882, the Commission said:

The present duty upon tin plates is an anomaly; the sheet iron out of which tin plates are made being dutiable under the present law at one and three-quarters cents per pound, and then finished tin plate, after being sheared, coated with metal, and boxed, being dutiable at one and one-tenth cents per pound. On account of the difference between the cost of labor in England and in the United States, it is now impossible to manufacture tin plates in this country, and the few tin plate establishments have been struggling for an existence.

The Commission is of opinion that a moderate rate of duty will develop this important industry, and that wise public policy dictates that at least a part of the amount consumed in this country of so essential an article as tin plate should be produced here. The testimony shows that the intention of the framers of the act of 1864 was to place a duty upon what is commercially known as tin plates, of two and one-half cents per pound, but by an error of punctuation, and the transposition of a comma, they were, by Treasury decision, placed at a much lower rate.

With a small majority at his back, and a weaker protective sentiment than McKinley had, it was impossible for Judge Kelley to secure the adoption of this recommendation of the Tariff Commission, and it was defeated. McKinley, it will be seen, recognizing that one of the essential principles of the tariff bill was justice to all interests concerned, boldly

took up the question of tin plate, and advanced the duty. On this subject he said:

We propose this advanced duty to protect our manufacturers and consumers against the British monopoly, in the belief that it will defend our capital and labor in the production of tin plate until they shall establish an industry which the English shall recognize has come to stay, and then competition will insure regular and reasonable prices to consumers. It may add a little, temporarily, to the cost of tin plate to the consumer, but will eventuate in steadier and more satisfactory prices. At the present prices for foreign tin plate, the proposed duty would not add any thing to the cost of the heavier grades of tin to the consumer. If the entire duty was added to the cost of the can, it would not advance it more than one-third, or one-half of one cent, for on a dozen fruit cans the addition would properly only be about three cents.

Mr. Cromemeyer said before the committee:

After we get fifty mills in this country and exchange our ideas, we can reduce the price by the use of improved machinery and methods which they never thought of in the other countries.

We consumed last year 300,000 tons of tin plate, all of it imported, upon which we paid $7,000,000 duty, every dollar of which was paid by the consumer, for it is a revenue tariff, and there was no competition at home to influence or regulate the prices. The price of tin plate to the American consumer for the last twenty-four years has been the foreign price fixed by the foreign producer, with the American duty added, and every dollar of that

duty has been paid by the canners and by the consumers in every form, small and great. They put the price up and they put the price down, according to the will of those who belong to the combine. Why, the very agitation, the very suggestion that we proposed to increase the duty on tin plate has already crushed out one foreign combine; one foreign trust, and it will stay crushed out until the political complexion of this House shall change and this duty shall be reduced, for I assume we are going to advance the duty on tin plate.

The duty on tin plate was advanced, and the results are known to the people of the country. While this feature of the bill was criticised most severely by the Democrats, it has since proved one of its greatest points of strength.

The reader will recall the epidemic of falsehood and discouragement which followed this courageous legislation. The tin plate liar was able to attract to himself a great deal of public attention during the short period of his existence. In his day he was the most impudent, the most aggressive, the most barefaced, and by all odds the most ingenious liar the Republican party ever had to contend against. For a time, so persistently and circumstantially did this creature lie, that he made you doubt your own eyesight and wonder if your best and most trusted friend was not trying to bunco you.

To-day he was peddling tinware on the country roads on salary, and asking double price "all on account of the McKinley bill!" To-morrow he was lecturing in the school-house on the enormous duty

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on tin, an article not produced in the United States, well knowing that McKinley found tin on the free list and left it there.

So successful was the tin plate liar that even leading Republicans were demanding the proof as to whether we could or could not make tin plate in this country. The organs of the Welsh tin plate trust in this country made a tremendous fight, and lost. Once more American labor and enterprise came out ahead, and the Welsh concerns will, in the course of time, be pushed to the wall. The consumers of tin are getting a cheaper and better article, and best of all, it is American. The canners of salmon are happy, and the lamentations of the oyster and green corn men have changed to anthems of praise for McKinley and American tin plate. The poor workman's dinner pail is no longer an object of Democratic sympathy, possibly because allusions to it may remind wage-earners it was none too full during Democratic panic times. Meantime, the manufacture of tin plate, made possible by the McKinley tariff, goes on at a rapid rate, and we shall ere long supply our home demand. Give the American producer half a chance and he will do with tin plate as he has done in other important industries—make a better and cheaper article, and pay a higher rate of wages to labor. In this case he had only half a chance. That he succeeded is a great victory for American ingenuity and hopefulness.

The most recent report, that made by John Jarrett, secretary of the Tinned Plate Manufacturers' Asso-

ciation of the United States, shows that six months ago there were 166 tin plate mills complete and fifty-nine mills contemplated. It is safe to assume that at the present time there must be not far from two hundred tin plate manufactories in the United States. The capacity of the mills already completed will be about 30,000 boxes per mill per annum, or in round figures, 5,000,000 boxes. If we add to these the capacity of the mills not completed six months ago, and include in our estimate the two hundred odd mills, we have a grand total capacity of nearly 7,000,000 boxes per annum. Mr. Jarrett's estimate for the annual consumption of tin plate in the United States is about 6,000,000 boxes.

Thus in less than four years the tin plate industry has so developed as to be ready to supply the entire home market as soon as all the mills get in working order. In this connection, it must be borne in mind that the reduction of duty on tin plate by the Wilson bill of 1894 has very seriously retarded the development of this industry. Had the McKinley bill stood without changes, the tin plate industry at this moment would be firmly on its feet, and without any doubt supplying the entire home demand with cheaper and better tin than we ever imported from abroad, and employing thousands of additional workingmen at good wages. There is no reason why America should not make tin plate, and there is every reason why we should. It is no more right that we should go abroad for our tin plate than for our steel rails. It has been demonstrated to the entire satisfaction of

every student of the question that we can make the tin plate as well as any other country.

The mills that are now running are making all grades and plenty of it, and large quantities of it go to canning companies and others who work up the product.

The success of the legislation in favor of making tin plate on this side the Atlantic instead of the other, was one of the most marked victories of the McKinley bill, though on a smaller scale hundreds of others might be named. These will be referred to elsewhere, as it is necessary to continue the argument of McKinley in support of his tariff bill of 1890.

In concluding this admirable argument in favor of the McKinley bill, he said:

We have now enjoyed twenty-nine years continuously of protective tariff laws—the longest uninterrupted period in which that policy has prevailed since the formation of the Federal government—and we find ourselves at the end of that period in a condition of independence and prosperity the like of which has never been witnessed at any other period in the history of our country, and the like of which had no parallel in the recorded history of the world. In all that goes to make a nation great and strong and independent, we have made extraordinary strides. In arts, in science, in literature, in manufactures in invention, in scientific principles applied to manufacture and agriculture, in wealth and credit and National honor we are at the very front, abreast with the best, and behind none.

In 1860, after fourteen years of a revenue tariff, just the kind of a tariff that our political adversaries are advo-

cating to-day, the business of the country was prostrated, agriculture was deplorably depressed, manufacturing was on the decline, and the poverty of the government, itself, made this nation a by-word in the financial centres of the world. We neither had money nor credit. Both are essential; a nation can get on if it has abundant revenues, but if it has none it must have credit. We had neither as the legacy of the Democratic revenue tariff. We have both now. We have a surplus revenue and a spotless credit. I need not state what is so fresh in our minds, so recent in our history, as to be known to every gentleman who hears me, that from the inauguration of the protective tariff laws of 1861, the old Morrill tariff—which has brought to that veteran statesman the highest honor and will give to him his proudest monument—this condition changed. Confidence was restored, courage was inspired, the government started upon a progressive era under a system thoroughly American.

With a great war on our hands, with an army to enlist and prepare for service, with untold millions of money to supply, the protective tariff never failed us in a single emergency, and while money was flowing into our treasury to save the government, industries were springing up all over the land— the foundation and cornerstone of our prosperity and glory. With a debt of over $2,750,000,000 when the war terminated, holding on to our protective laws, against Democratic opposition, we have reduced that debt at an average rate of more than $62,000,000 each year, $174,000 every twenty-four hours for the last twenty-five years, and what looked like a burden almost impossible to bear has been removed under the Republican fiscal system, until now it is less than $1,000,000,000, and with the payment of this vast sum of money the Na-

tion has not been impoverished, the individual citizen has not been burdened or bankrupted, National and individual prosperity have gone steadily on, until our wealth is so great as to be almost incomprehensible when put into figures.

The accumulations of the laborers of the country have increased, and the working classes of no nation in the world have such splendid deposits in savings banks as the working classes of the United States. Listen to their story: The deposits of all the savings banks of New England in 1886 equaled $554,532,434. The deposits in the savings banks of New York in 1886 were $482,686,730. The deposits in the savings banks of Massachusetts for the year 1887 were $302,948,624, and the number of depositors was 944,778, or $320.67 for each depositor. The savings banks of nine States have in nineteen years increased their deposits $628,000,000. The English savings banks have in thirty-four years increased theirs $350,000,000. Our operative deposits $7 to the English operative's $1. These vast sums represent the savings of the men whose labor has been employed under the protective policy which gives, as experience has shown, the largest possible reward to labor.

There is no one thing standing alone that so surely tests the wisdom of a national financial policy as the national credit, what it costs to maintain it, and the burden it imposes upon the citizen. It is a fact, which every American should contemplate with pride, that the public debt of the United States, per capita, is less than that of any other great nation of the world, Let me call the roll: France's public debt per capita is $218.27; Great Britain, $100.09; Italy, $74.25; Spain, $73.34; Belgium, $72.18; Germany, $43.10; Russia, $35.41;

United States, $33.92, on a population of 50,000,000; and now, with our increased population, the per capita is under $25. England increased her rate of taxation between 1870 and 1880 over 24 per cent., while the United States diminished hers nearly 10 per cent.

We lead all nations in agriculture, we lead all nations in mining and we lead all nations in manufacturing. These are the trophies which we bring after twenty-nine years of a protective tariff. Can any other system furnish such evidences of prosperity? Yet in the presence of such a showing of progress, there are men who talk about "the restraints we put upon trade," and "the burdens we put upon the enterprise and energy of the people." There is no country in the world where individual enterprise has such wide and varied range, and where the inventive genius of man has given such encouragement as in the United States. There is no nation in the world, under any system, where the same reward is given to the labor of men's hands and the work of their brains as in the United States. We have widened the sphere of human endeavor, and given to every man a fair chance in the race of life and in the attainment of the highest possibilities of human destiny. To reverse this system means to stop the progress of the Republic and reduce the masses to small rewards for their labor, to longer hours and less pay, to the simple question of bread and butter. It means to turn them from ambition, courage and hope, to dependence, degradation and despair. No sane man will give up what he has, what he is in full possession of, what he can count on for himself and children, for what is promised by your theories.

Free trade, or as you are pleased to call it, "revenue

tariff," means the opening up of this market, which is admitted to be the best in the world, to the free entry of the products of the world. It means more—it means that the labor of this country is to be remitted to its earlier condition, and that the condition of our people is to be leveled down to the condition of rival countries, because under it every element of cost, every item of production, including wages, must be brought down to the level of the lowest paid labor of the world. No other result can follow, and no other result is anticipated or expected by those who intelligently advocate a revenue tariff. We cannot maintain ourselves against unequal conditions without the tariff, and no man of affairs believes we can. Under the system of unrestricted trade which you gentlemen recommend, we will have to reduce every element of cost down to or below that of our commercial rivals, or surrender to them our own market. No one will dispute that statement; and to go into the domestic market of our rivals would mean that production here must be so reduced that with transportation added we could undersell them in their own market; and to meet them in neutral markets and divide the trade with them would mean that we could profitably sell side by side with them at their minimum price.

First, then, to retain our own market under the Democratic system of raising revenue, by removing all protection, would require our producers to sell at as low a price and upon as favorable terms as our foreign competitors. How could that be done? In one way only—by producing as cheaply as those who would seek our markets. What would that entail? An entire revolution in the methods and conduct of business here, a leveling down through every channel to the lowest line of our competi-

tors, our habits of living would have to be changed, our wages cut down fifty per cent. or more, our comfortable homes exchanged for hovels, our independence yielded up, our citizenship demoralized. These are conditions inseparable to free trade; these would be necessary, if we would command our own market among our own people; and if we would invade the world's markets, harsher conditions and greater sacrifices would be demanded of the masses. Talk about depression—we would then have it in its fulness. We would revel in unrestrained trade. Everything would indeed be cheap, but how costly when measured by the degradation which would ensue! When merchandise is the cheapest, men are the poorest; and the most distressing experiences in the history of our country—aye, in all human history—have been when everything was the lowest and cheapest measured by gold, for everything was the highest and the dearest measured by labor. We have no wish to adopt the conditions of other nations. Experience has demonstrated that for us and ours, and for the present and the future, the protective system meets our wants, our conditions, promotes the National design, and will work out our destiny better than any other.

With me, this position is a deep conviction, not a theory. I believe in it and thus warmly advocate it, because enveloped in it are my country's highest devel opment and greatest prosperity; out of it come the greatest gains to the people, the greatest comforts to the masses, the widest encouragement for manly aspirations, with the largest rewards, dignifying and elevating our citizenship, upon which the safety and purity and permanency of our political system depend. . . .

Thus was the tariff of 1890 ushered into existence.

What followed must be left for another chapter. That all which McKinley said in this peroration has come true, every intelligent citizen of the Republic who has watched the drift during the last five years knows full well. The bill passed Congress and became a law. It was attacked by theory, ignorance and prejudice, and for the moment, perhaps, it seemed to those whose protective principles were not firm, a too radical measure. Then the prosperity which McKinley predicted dawned, only to disappear in 1892, when the Democratic victory spread its blighting effects over the industrial regions of the country. Then followed two years of panic and distress, which, as we shall see, was only lifted from our prostrated business when the principles so eloquently set forth in the above address were again victorious in 1894.

CHAPTER XXIV.

ITS EFFECTS—PROSPERITY.

The Fall Election of 1890 Construed Into Disapproval of the McKinley Law—McKinley Stands Firmly by His Guns—He Declared It a Cross Current, a Chop Sea—Condition of the Country in 1892—New Industries Started—Old Industries Revived—The Law Proves a Wide-spread Blessing—Wages Increase—Result of Thirty Years of Protection.

THE McKinley bill became a law so late in the fall of 1890 that it was impossible to explain it fully to the voters before the Congressional elections of that year. It was attacked vigorously by the opposing party, and as it was impossible in the time to explode all the falsehoods and answer with facts the assumptions and assertions, a temporary reaction followed. The fall elections went against the Republicans and a Democratic House was returned. As the bill was only in force a few months before the election, it was impossible to show its workings. Though attacked on all sides, McKinley stood firmly by his guns, and never for one instant indicated a doubt as to the wisdom of the measure or the ultimate verdict of the people.

From this defeat, as in the defeat of 1892, he arose courageous, steadfast and hopeful. "My friends, be

BRINGING THE TARIFF HOME TO THE WAGE EARNERS.

firm. This is only a cross current, a chop sea; the tide of truth flows surely on beneath." These words the writer heard him say when, in the spring of 1891, we journeyed together from Washington to Toledo to speak at the Lincoln birthday banquet of that year. Others might change, others might doubt, others might modify their views, but he stood firm for a protective tariff—for the American against the foreign producer. That was sound doctrine and as lasting as the hills.

Within two years after the passage of the McKinley tariff bill, the weight of the facts was overwhelmingly in favor of the protection accorded American industry and labor under that law. The benefits derived from the McKinley law were undoubtedly real and in their immediate effect far in excess of the anticipations of the friends of the measure. The free-traders, who during the campaign of 1890 had made such remarkable assertions about the McKinley tariff, two years later found it difficult to deny that new industries were being started, that old industries had been revived, that commerce had been increased rather than decreased, that prices of commodities came down while wages showed a decided upward tendency. More than this, it will be noted, McKinley himself did not promise.

In this chapter it will be the endeavor to touch upon some of the important results that were directly traceable to the McKinley tariff law. In the first place, the greatest and most direct boon of the McKinley act was putting sugar on the free list.

The decrease in price of this article of general consumption in itself was a widespread blessing. "Cheap sugar for the farmer and workingman" would win a Presidential election in most republics, and elect by a large majority the fortunate advocates. With the multitude of blessings which followed in quick succession the passage of the tariff bill of 1891, this important feature, with other extensions of the free list, was apparently overlooked. Not only was cheap sugar a blessing to every housekeeper of limited means throughout the country, but it at once gave an impetus to the jam and preserve business in New York and other States, and would ultimately have established on this side of the Atlantic an industry worth several millions of dollars if it had not been for the repeal of the bill.

The sugar producer was not destroyed nor wiped out. He was producing less than ten per cent of the sugar consumed. It was cheaper to give him a bounty, for with improved methods there is still hope for an American beet-sugar industry. If firmly established, such an industry might be worth $200,000,000 per annum to our farmers. It would be unwise to absolutely abandon such possibilities.

Free-traders frequently ask the question: "If a protective tariff decreases the cost of commodities, what good is it?" The object of a tariff is not to increase the cost of commodities, but to encourage their manufacture this side of the Atlantic instead of the other side. As will be presently shown, foreigners, unable to import their commodities, were

compelled to move their factories to this country where, after a short time, they produced goods as cheap and even cheaper than before the increase of duty. But they do it with American labor.

This was the case in Germany after their tariff act of 1878. English firms, unable to import their woolen goods into Germany, sent the junior members of their firms to the fatherland and built up the manufacturing towns along the Rhine. As the cost of labor was about the same in Germany as in England, the Germans were soon getting their cloths as cheap and even cheaper than before. The only difference was that German labor instead of English labor was employed in its manufacture.

The claim that a tariff increases the cost of all articles, whether imported or not, is too silly for a moment's consideration in the light of recent investigations. No man of any statistical reputation would for a moment undertake to sustain such an assumption. The facts are all against him. The following table, which was carefully prepared in 1892 for this particular purpose and based on official data, not only shows the tendency of prices for nearly a generation of protection, but it likewise proves how utterly false were the statements that the McKinley law indiscriminately raised prices:

TENDENCY OF PRICES UNDER PROTECTION:

ARTICLES.	1857.	OCT., 1889.	OCT., 1890.	SEPT., 1891.
Ax	$1 49	$0 95	$0 92	$0 88
Binding twine, pound	.....	14¼	14½	11
Blankets, pair	6 83½	4 23	4 09¼	3 70
Blue shirting, yard	17¾	11¼	11	9½
Boots	4 76	3 27	3 97	2 78¾
Calico, yard	14½	7⅛	6¾	6
Carpets, yard	1 30¾	77¾	72¼	66½
Cotton gloves	34¾	24¾	22⅔	19½
Cotton hosiery	47	28¾	25¼	20½
Cotton knit goods	98	52¼	46¼	41¼
Cotton thread, spool	9 1-5	5	4¾	4½
Crowbar, pound	11½	7½	6¾	6¼
Drawing chains, pair	1 28½	71¼	65½	58½
File	42	27¼	24	20¼
Fork, three-tined	99¼	56¾	52¼	46¼
Flannel, yard	70	39¾	37¾	34¾
Fruit cans, per dozen	3 00	72	65	54½
Gingham, yard	22⅔	10¾	10¼	8¾
Hand saw	2 43½	1 62¼	1 53	1 39
Hoe	85	48¼	43	37½
Hemp rope, pound	21	14	14¾	11½
Linen, yard	83	48½	47	42½
Mowing machine	121 15	56 98	52 60	47 10
Nails, wire, pound	.....	5	4½	3¾
Nails, iron, pound	8¼	3¾	3½	3
Oil cloth, yard	85	38	35¼	31
Overalls	1 20¼	83¾	79¼	70½
Pearl button, dozen	22¼	11¼	11¾	13¾
Pins, paper	11½	6¾	6½	5¾
Plow	20 12½	14 37½	13 93¼	12 90
Rake, horse	41 25	22 56¾	21 24½	19 40¾
Rake, hand	61½	34	30	26¼
Reaper and binder	247 85	142 36	129 85	115 96
Rubber boots	4 83½	3 10¾	3 00	2 73¾
Salt, barrel	2 30	1 75	1 65	1 38
Shoes	5 84	3 45	3 15	3 06
Sheeting, yard	12¾	8	7¾	6¼
Shovel	1 47	97¾	93¾	80¼
Spade	1 44⅓	96¾	95¾	84
Starch, pound	13½	9¾	9¾	9½
Straw hat, good	1 75	1 28	1 25	1 10
Straw hat, common	44	31	28	23¼
Sugar, pound, granulated	19¼	9¾	9¼	5½
Sugar, pound, brown	16¼	8½	8	4½
Sugar bowl	61	38½	37½	32¼
Scythe	1 22	85½	74½	68¾
Tin dipper	25	12¼	11½	10¼
Tin milk pail	75½	46¾	43¼	39¾
Tin milk pan	37¼	18½	17½	15½
Ticking, yard	35½	20	18¾	17
Wagon	130 00	95 00	90 00	75 00
Washboard	41	24½	24	22¾
Wash tub	1 20	70½	65	65
Wheelbarrow	2 23	1 65	1 60	1 40
Wooden pails	44	24½	22	20½
Woolen clothing	24 00	16 75	14 50	14 25

It was admitted by a non-partisan report of a committee of the United States Senate, that, under the two years of the McKinley bill, prices of commodities were reduced and that wages slightly increased. In fact, all the statistical evidence that could be marshaled in 1892 pointed silently but strongly to the fact that the McKinley law had not resulted in giving the farmer lower prices for his produce, and it also exhibited the falsity of the prediction that the prices of all manufactures would be higher under the McKinley law. So much for prices.

To what extent did this law establish new industries? If newspaper reports made at the time may be relied upon, New York, New Jersey and Connecticut in 1892 were greatly benefited by the starting of new and the revival of defunct industries In the matter of tin plate, the advantages extended still further and have been treated of in a previous chapter. Next in importance to the tin-plate industry, which represents many millions in wages annually, comes the manufacture of cotton ties, which the McKinley law transferred bodily to this country. The Democratic tariff law of 1894, however, wiped it out completely by the most outrageous sectional legislation known in years. Under the mistaken notion of helping the cotton-raiser of the South, the Wilson tariff bill destroyed the cotton-tie industry by putting cotton ties on the free list. In 1892, under the McKinley law, when the subject was investigated, many works were found engaged in making ties which could not make them with safety before the new

duties were imposed. They afforded occupation to thousands of hands, who realized their advantages when they drew weekly wages about double those paid in any other country for the same work.

It was claimed that the McKinley bill increased the duty on coarse wool, and hence the price of carpets would go up and the industry be crippled. Nothing of the sort happened. Carpets were even cheaper in 1892 than in 1890—an average of about ten per cent. The development of this industry is one of the marvels of the protective system. After the passage of the McKinley law, and until the election of a Democratic President, every carpet factory was in full operation and new mills for making the finest quality of goods were under construction, and would have been built had the Republicans carried the election. Carpets which once sold for $3 a yard, in 1892 brought 62½ cents. So there was nothing the matter with the carpet industry.

The manufacture of lace curtains was another industry which McKinley went gunning for, and, what is more to the point, he bagged the game. Here is the story as written by a correspondent who visited Patchogue, New York, in 1892:

There is a notable example in this village of an "infant industry" which has been created and protected in its growth by the McKinley act. The manufacture of cotton lace curtains has given employment here to 200 hands, who might otherwise have been idle. The industry pays out in wages to these hands the sum of $1,500 weekly, or $78,000

yearly. Its establishment has been a decided gain for the town, and it has not entailed any burdens upon the great body of consumers outside. The price of cotton lace curtains is as low this year as it was in 1890, when the McKinley act was passed. So far as the villagers can reason about the matter, therefore, the tariff on lace curtains is not a tax on the consumer, while it has given employment to their working population and increased the business of Patchogue.

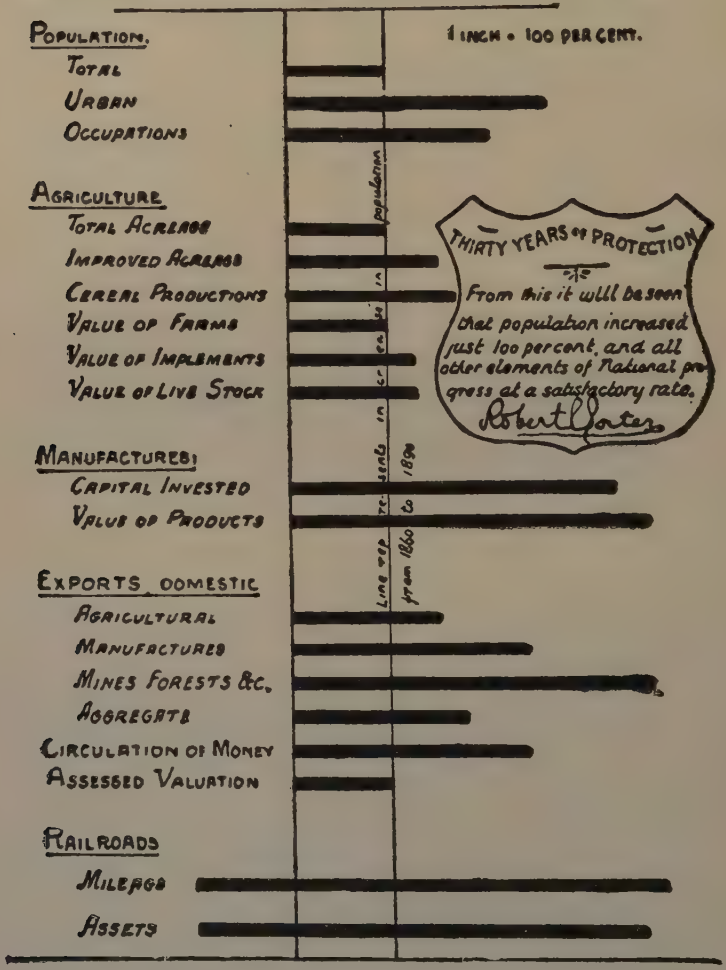
When the industry is established elsewhere it will create competition from other American lace-curtain manufacturers, and speedily it will force down the price of goods far below the figures for which they were selling in 1890, when the additional duty was imposed.

In 1882, the writer was in Nottingham, England, the center of the trade. The hands in the great machine-made lace factories were found among the most prosperous and well paid of English operatives. The reason given for this was that Nottingham almost monopolized this line of trade. They were confident then it could not successfully be transplanted. But the McKinley law did it. This industry is one of the nicest of all the textile industries and calls for an intelligent class of operatives.

Hear what the lace-curtain man said:

If the McKinley law had not been passed, I feel certain that there would not have been a lace or lace-curtain factory or mill in this country. I have looked over the situation thoroughly and I know

DIAGRAM SHOWING THE INCREASE IN POPULATION, AGRICULTURE, MANUFACTURES &c., FROM 1860 TO 1890.



the truth of what I say. The United States is the greatest market in the world for lace, and it stands to reason that lace articles should be made here.

The McKinley magnet also attracted a large Huddersfield plush manufactory. Like machine-made lace, plush can be made in the United States, and made as cheaply and as good as anywhere on earth. This firm did nearly $1,000,000 worth of business with the United States, and it simply moved nearer the market. Here is the plush story, as told by Mr. Lister, the head of the concern which moved here in consequence of the passage of the McKinley bill:

When the McKinley bill became law our business was paralyzed. Orders from the country were canceled and 90 per cent of our trade was with the United States. The value of our stock went down and down until the stuff was hardly worth any thing. Tussah silk, which had sold for 80 cents per pound, dropped to 16 cents within twelve months, and the manufactured tussah articles declined in proportion, and silk products were a large factor in our business. The result of this depreciation was a loss to our concern exceeding half a million dollars, with worse prospects at the beginning of the second year than when the McKinley law was passed. We continued business, though at a loss, hoping that the bill would be repealed and that we could again control the American market. The showing of the second balance sheet was so much worse than that of the first that father and I at once decided to try the United

States. In this way we established an industry which will employ 1,200 persons.

"The poor boy's jack-knife" would have been the cry, but the boy not being a voter it was the "poor man's cutlery." The attempt was made to prove that a tax of 117 per cent had been levied upon pocket knives which had been selling for 18 cents a dozen, or 1½ cents a piece. There was even more class legislation in razors than in knives, the poor man being taxed 170 per cent and the rich man only 56 per cent. The effect of the new law was not to raise the price, but to prevent the importation of fraudulent knives with American trade marks. Wages in this business increased from 50 to 25 per cent., according to a letter published in 1892 from Meriden, the center of the industry.

There are other instances, but only one more will be recalled, for these details may weary the reader. Pearl buttons! Before the McKinley bill, 11; in 1892, nearly 80 manufactories. The number of persons employed prior to 1890 was between 200 and 400, and the wages paid were from $9 to $12 a week; but it must be understood that none of these persons worked more than three, or at the most, four days a week. The amount of production then was not more than $500,000 a year. The amount of capital invested was very limited prior to 1890. In the seventy-five or eighty pearl button factories in operation in 1892 there were about four thousand persons employed, certainly not less, and the number probably exceeded that figure. The wages paid

were from $15 to $24 a week, according to skill. There was plenty of work for all employed, and the capital invested was considerably over $1,000,000, while the production of the manufacturers at that time amounted in the aggregate to between $6,000,000 and $7,000,000.

To show the prosperous condition of the country at this time, the table and diagram have been presented on pages 296 and 300. They show the growth of the country during thirty years of a protective tariff, while the facts already given indicate that the McKinley bill, far from injuring this prosperity, gave to manufacturing, commerce and agriculture a good start on the last decade of the century. So far as examined, the signs were all good until the Democratic success in the fall of 1892 put an end to prosperity. A glance at the table and diagram shows a great and satisfactory progress under thirty years of a protective tariff, that is, from 1860 to 1890, while all the facts point to a continuation and even increase of that prosperity for the two years immediately following the passage of the McKinley law. Such is the case for the McKinley Tariff law.

THIRTY YEARS OF A PROTECTIVE TARIFF.

Resources of the United States in 1860 compared with those of 1890, as given by the Eighth and Eleventh Censuses.

ITEMS.	1860. AMOUNT.	1890. AMOUNT.	INCREASE.
Population—			
Aggregate of the United States	31,443,321	62,622,250	99.2 per cent.
Urban places of 8,000 and upward	5,072,256	18,284,385	Ratio 1860-61 to 6.2; 1890-91 to 3.4 of total pop.
Occupation, all classes	8,287,043	22,700,000	Ratio 1860-61 to 3.8; 1890-91 to 2.8 of total pop.
Agriculture—			
Total acreage	407,212,538	*815,000,000	Per cap. alike in 1860 and 1890, 13 acres per cap.
Acreage of improved land	163,110,720	*400,000,000	From 5.2 acres per cap. in 1860 to 6.4 acres in 1890.
Agricultural people, ten years and upward	4,335,758	9,013,000	Increase 107.87 per cent.
Value of land, fences and buildings	$6,645,045,007	*$13,110,031,384	Increase 97.29 per cent.
Value of implements and machinery	$246,118,141	*$550,000,000	Increase 123.47 per cent.
Value of live stock on farms	$1,089,329,915	†2,418,766,028	Increase 122.04 per cent.
Cereal production—Wheat, corn, oats, rye, barley and buckwheat—bushels	1,239,039,947	†$3,209,742,000	Per cap. of total population 1860, 39.4; 1890, 51.3 bu.
Manufactures—			
Capital invested	$1,009,855,715	$6,524,000,000	Per cap. of total pop. 1860, $32.22; 1890, $104.18.
Value of products	$1,855,861,676	$9,370,000,000	Per cap. of total pop. 1860, $59.98; 1890, $149.62.
Transportation—			
Steam railroads—line, miles	28,920	‡163,597	465.7 per cent increase.
Assets	$1,867,248,720	‡10,278,835,746	450.5 per cent increase.
Street railways—line	403	5,783	1,335 per cent increase.
Investment, road and equipment	$14,862,840	$389,357,289	2,520 per cent increase.
Wealth—			
Assessed valuation of real estate and personal property	$12,084,560,005	$25,473,000,000	Per cap. of total pop. 1860, $384.33; 1890, $406.77.
Estimated true value	$16,159,616,068	$65,037,000,000	A comparison cannot be made; 1860 only includes estimated true value based upon assessed property.
Exports—			
Domestic articles—aggregate	$316,242,423	†$845,293,828	From $10.06 per cap. in 1860 to $13.50 per cap. in 1890.
Agricultural products	$256,560,972	†$629,785,917	From $8.16 per cap. in 1860 to $10.06 per cap. in 1890.
Manufactures	$45,658,873	†$151,131,297	From $1.45 per cap. in 1860 to $2.41 per cap. in 1890.
Mines, forests, fisheries, etc., products	$14,022,578	†$64,376,614	From $0.45 per cap. in 1860 to $1.03 per cap. in 1890.
Circulation of money—Gold, silver and currency in the United States	$435,406,252	†$1,429,251,270	From $13.85 per cap. in 1860 to $22.82 per cap. in 1890.

* Estimated. † From reports of Treasury Department. ‡ Report 1890 Inter-state Commission.

CHAPTER XXV.

THE "OBJECT LESSON" REVERSED.

McKinley Confounds False Witnesses by Unimpeachable Testimony—Good Times and Prosperity—Triumph of Protection—Undaunted by the Democratic Victory of 1892—McKinley Values His Principles No Less in Defeat than in Victory—He Inspires the Party with Renewed Hope at Columbus in 1893.

McKINLEY himself put the case in even a more emphatic manner before the facts enumerated in the previous chapter were obtainable. February 12, 1891, he spoke at the Lincoln banquet at Toledo, and planted the protection banner more firmly than ever. The defeat of a few months before had not in the least discouraged him. He said:

We believe the American policy is best adapted to our citizenship and civilization, and this belief is sustained by the highest American authorities from Washington down, and by a hundred years of experience. We know what it has already accomplished for a self-governed people. The world knows of the wonderful progress we have made. If this policy is to be reversed, it must be done, not by clamor and misrepresentation, not by schoolmen and theorists, not by falsehood and hypocritical solicitude for the poor man, not by exaggerated laudation of the cheap coat, but after the fullest discus-

sion and investigation by the sober and intelligent judgment of the majority constitutionally registered. It will never be so reversed while we remain a Nation of political equals. Time and experience have vindicated the great system; time and truth will vindicate the new law which was founded upon it. False witnesses will be confounded by the unimpeachable testimony of trade and experience. Their portents have already been impeached. False prophecy must fall before good times and abounding prosperity. Campaign prices have already been convicted as campaign lies. New industries are being founded; others now established are enlarging their capacity. Idle mills are being started. The only menace to our advancement and prosperity, to our wage-earners and farming industries, is the party which is pledged to the repeal of the new law and the substitution of the British system in its place. Free and full discussion will avert the danger. Nothing else will.

Commenting on the triumph of the McKinley law as illustrated by the facts as they existed in the fall of 1891, two years after its enactment, McKinley said in a speech before the Nebraska Chautauqua Association, at Beatrice, Nebraska, August 2, 1892:

Mr. Cleveland, in his recent speech in Rhode Island, said: "The consumer has found life harder since the passage of the new tariff law than before." That is not true. The consumer has not found life harder, for the commodities which enter into his daily life are, in a great majority of cases, lower than they were before the new tariff law went into effect. He has had cheaper sugar, cheaper clothing, cheaper boots and shoes, and cheaper nails than before. A careful investigation of

"EVERY FARMER WHO IS FARMING IS BENEFITED BY THE TARIFF."

prices of woolen and cotton goods made in the city of New York, and embracing over two thousand quotations of articles for a comparative period under the new and old tariffs (and this was made by an expert who has reported prices for forty years) shows that in about ninety-eight per cent of all these quotations and articles there has been an actual decrease in price since the new tariff went into effect, as compared with the same prices of goods under the old tariff. Furthermore, the old industries have been stimulated and very many new industries started, which are now estimated to have given employment to from 200,000 to 250,000 employes; and it is a fact well established by reports from all other countries that at this time, while depression and anxiety exist in their industries, there is prosperity in the United States alone. When the tariff has been increased upon a foreign article, and it does not increase the price to the American consumer, how does the American consumer suffer? He gets the commodity at as low a price as he got it under the old tariff, notwithstanding the increase of the tariff; so he loses nothing, but labor in America gains everything. Take the case of carpets, one of the most marked inceases under the new law. We advanced the tariff on wool, which lies at the foundation of the carpet industry, to protect the wool growers of the country. We advanced the tariff on carpets, the finished product, to compensate the manufacturer for the increased duty on wool, and yet to-day the prices are no higher than they were before the enactment of the new law. It is true, prices went up on carpets immediately after the passage of the law, but these prices were speculative rather than real. But to-day there is no line of carpets that you can not buy as cheaply as you could

prior to October 6, 1892; and as to ingrain and other lower grades of carpets, they are even cheaper now than then; so that the increased protection that we give to the wool grower, and which he required as a defense against ruinous competition from abroad, has cost the American consumer nothing, and to the wool grower and farmer has been a positive benefit.

They say that a protective tariff shuts us out of a foreign market. I have before me a statement from the Treasury department, corrected July 14, 1892, showing our foreign commerce. The total value of imports and exports of merchandise attained its highest point, amounting to $1,857,726,910, in the last fiscal year, as against $1,729,307,006 during the fiscal year of 1891, an increase of $128,329,904, and an increase of $370,198,883 over 1889. The excess in value of exports over imports during the last fiscal year was $202,944,342. The value of our imports of merchandise during the last fiscal year amounted to $824,301,284, as against $844,916,193 in 1891, a decrease of $20,614,909. There was an increase in our imports of coffee, unmanufactured silk, sugar and molasses, and the decrease was in tin plate, manufactured silk, manufactures of tobaccos, manufactures of wool, vegetables, fruits and textile grasses. Notwithstanding the cry that under a protective tariff we can not sell abroad if we do not buy abroad, yet during the last fiscal year we sold abroad nearly $203,000,000 more than we bought abroad; $203,000,000 was the excess in our favor which the foreigners paid to us, and which we have at home circulating among our own people. Dutiable merchandise has decreased under the operation of the new law, as shown by the report of the Secretary of the Treasury. The

value of merchandise imported upon which duty was paid for the year ending June 30, 1892, was $369,300,139, while for the preceding year it was $478,674,844, showing a decrease in the value of merchandise paying duty of $109,374,705.

It will also be observed that, under the operation of the new law, the free list has been increased, while the dutiable list is decreased. The value of free imports for the last year exceeded the value of dutiable imports by $88,000,000. During the last fiscal year the value of imported merchandise free of duty was over $458,000,000, an increase over the preceding year of $91,759,793. The average *ad valorem* rate per cent of duty on the aggregate of imports has gradually decreased since the passage of the new tariff law. The average rate per cent for the year ending March 31, 1892, of free and dutiable goods, was 20.65 per cent; in 1891, 28 per cent; in 1890, 28.92 per cent, and in 1889, 30.69 per cent. The average rate to-day is less than it has been at any time before for thirty years. More than one-half of the value of all our imports is absolutely free. In 1889 the percentage of free goods was 34.42 per cent, and in 1892, 55.36 per cent. We collected during the last fiscal year $65,810,670 in duties less than the duties collected during the preceding year. So, if "the tariff is a tax," as our adversaries assert, we should at least be credited with having wiped out $65,810,670 of "burdensome taxes" from the people. The value of our exports of merchandise during the fiscal year 1892 was $1,030,335,626. The value of our exports in 1891 was $884,480,810, an increase of $145,854,816—a wonderful and marvelous increase of our foreign trade under a tariff law which was to close the foreign market to our products! Our

exports never before reached that point in any given year in our history.

Following the defeat of 1892, when the Democratic party was returned to power in all branches of the government, McKinley again took strong and advanced ground in favor of the policy of protection. His speech at Columbus, February 14, 1893, was one of the strongest speeches of his life. Temperate in tone, firm in belief, and patriotic in sentiment, he inspired every one who heard or read it with renewed hope in the apparently defeated cause. He said:

The Republican party values its principles no less in defeat than in victory. It holds to them after a reverse, as before, because it believes in them; and believing in them, is ready to battle for them. They are not espoused for mere policy, nor to serve in a single contest. They are set deep and strong in the hearts of the party, and are interwoven with its struggles, its life and its history. Without discouragement, our great party reaffirms its allegiance to Republican doctrine, and with unshaken confidence seeks again the public judgment through public discussion. The defeat of 1892 has not made Republican principles less true nor our faith in their ultimate triumph less firm. The party accepts with true American spirit the popular verdict, and, challenging the interpretation put upon it by our political opponents, takes an appeal to the people, whose court is always open and whose right of review is never questioned.

The Republican party, which made its first appearance in a National contest in 1856, has lost the Presidency but three times in thirty-six years, and only twice since 1860.

It has carried seven Presidential elections out of ten since its organization. It has more than once witnessed an apparent condemnation of Republican policy swiftly and conclusively reversed by a subsequent and better-considered popular verdict. When defeat has come it has usually followed some measure of public law or policy where sufficient time had not elapsed to demonstrate its wisdom and expediency, and where the opposing party by reason thereof enjoyed the widest range for popular prejudice and exaggerated statement and misrepresentation. Of the fitness of the Republican party for public trust, its record for thirty years is its best testimonial. In this particular it is unmatched. It never lacked courage when in power to put into public law its declared purposes, and the statutes of the United States register its proudest achievements. For more than a quarter of a century it has made the laws of the country, which have withstood every assault, and in the end have won public approval. We are living under these laws now, and except for the uncertainty hanging over us by reason of the election of 1892, the country is in a most prosperous and assuring condition. Nothing but the result of that election can stand in the way of our continued prosperity. If we could strike from the history of the country all that has been done and accomplished through the agency of the Republican party, what would we have left? Little to be proud of. Repudiation of the public faith; a disordered currency; a bankrupt treasury; a broken Union, with discordant and warring States; a dishonored flag; human slavery with the lash and chains and the auction block, not in the South alone, but in the great free Northwest as well; a discredited name among the nations of the earth, and the universal verdict that free

government had failed. If, since the war, the Democratic party could have made effective in administration and legislation the declarations of its National platforms, what would we have witnessed? Repudiation of the Constitutional Amendments! Repudiation of the war debt! The wildest inflation of irredeemable currency! The repeal of the Resumption Act! British free trade and its dire conditions!

He concluded with these remarkable words:

As a party we have nothing to recall, and little to regret. The past is secure and its glories can not be dimmed. The future will yet commend the latest Republican legislation and approve the present Republican administration. Republican purpose is written in public law. It can be read by all men. The country knows what it has accomplished and is accomplishing. It does not rest in the breath of orators nor in the declaration of campaign platforms. It is an enduring statute. Criticism will no longer avail our political adversaries. Positive enactment must be met by positive enactment. Carping at our laws must give way to construction of theirs. A Democratic tariff law must now stand actual comparison with a Republican tariff law. That is the real test, and it must come, or the Democratic party must stand convicted by its own confession of obtaining power under false pretenses. We do not fear the contrast. Nay, we invite and welcome it. The business interests, the wage-worker, the agriculturist of the country await with anxious solicitude the promised reforms. They should not be delayed. The Republican tariffs which have been so persistently characterized as artful devices to rob the poor should not be tolerated a single day after the Democ-

racy takes power. Prompt action is the test of good faith and capacity; procrastination is a sure proof of insincerity and infirmity. Which will it be?

In a few days the country passes into the control of the Democratic party, in a condition of matchless prosperity in every department of industry. We do not leave them a legacy of hard times, idle industries, unproductive enterprises and unemployed labor. We turn over to them a country blessed with unprecedented activity in every avenue of human employment, with labor in active demand and better paid than in all our history before; a government with unparalleled resources and credit, and with no stain upon its honor. "The year 1892," says Dun's Review of Trade, "has been the most prosperous ever known in business." This is the non-partisan testimony of the triumph of the revenue and financial policies of the Republican party.

This is the business indorsement of thirty years of Republican rule. This was a year, too, of "unconstitutional tariffs" and "sham reciprocity." This was the year, according to our adversaries, that the Republican policy was robbing the people. It was in this year, 1892, while in the enjoyment of unexampled prosperity, that the Republican legislation which made this condition possible was, as the Democratic leaders would have us believe, repudiated by the people, and the Democratic policy of British free trade and wildcat money endorsed. I do not believe it. If they act upon that belief they will be promptly repudiated by the people. Not only has the year 1892 registered an era of conspicuous progress and unexampled prosperity, but it witnessed a National administration under President Harrison unexcelled in honesty, power and patriotism by any of its predecessors.

Of this rich inheritance the Democratic party becomes the trustee for the people. It is my hope that it may suffer no loss or waste in their hands. I wish the country could be assured it would not. If it does, the trust will come back to us—and it will come back to us with the doubly-renewed confidence of the people. We have but to hold fast, abating nothing of conviction and yielding nothing of our faith in the great docrines which are destined to secure victories as signal as any which have gone before. The party of Lincoln—whose anniversary we celebrate to-night—still lives. The party which rallied the young men of the country around the banner of liberty and union still carries it, with the glories you have added. Upon it are emblazoned the victories of the past and the great principles which will win victories in the future—equal and impartial suffrage, protection and reciprocity, honest money and National honor.

Soon after these words were uttered at Columbus, a Democratic President was inaugurated. Before the inauguration, however, the threatened tariff legislation began to unsettle values, close mills and factories, reduce wages, and throw hundreds of thousands of workingmen out of employment. A Democratic administration came into power pledged to reverse the protective policy of the Government, which, as already shown in preceding chapters, had existed for more than thirty years and resulted in great prosperity to the Nation. Distrust and consternation followed in every business circle. No business man knew what to do, for he could not predict what the party in power would do. Business

collapsed, panic and failures followed. Considerable stress has been laid in preceding chapters on the condition of the country in 1892. It will be interesting to contrast a like statement of that condition at the end of 1893, after less than one year of Democratic supremacy. This was described by McKinley himself in a speech delivered March 29, 1894, at the Exposition Building in Minneapolis:

> Starting with the largest trade ever known, mills crowded with work and all business stimulated by high hopes, the year 1893 has proved in sudden shrinkage of trade, in commercial disaster and the depression of industries, the worst for fifty years. Whether the final results of the panic of 1837 were relatively more severe, the scarcity of records of that time do not clearly show. The year closes with prices of many products the lowest ever known, with millions of workers seeking in vain for work, and with charity laboring to keep back suffering and starvation in all our cities. All hope that the new year may bring brighter days, but the dying year leaves only a dismal record. The review of different departments of trade given to-day exhibits a collapse of industry and business which is almost without precedent.

After bringing forward facts to substantiate this great change, and after showing that precisely the same results had followed similar attacks on our industries by the Democratic party, McKinley continued:

> Is history worth nothing? Are experience and its lessons to be forgotton? Are the teachings of the past to count for naught? Is the National distress, the business

depression and the universal poverty of the people, which have relentlessly followed the enactment of every revenue tariff measure in all our history, to be lost upon us in the calm consideration of this economic subject? Are all these to be discarded in the making up of our verdict? I implore you to study them without bias, for they will steady your judgment in reaching a righteous conclusion.

This speech was delivered at a time when the Wilson bill had passed the House, but before it had passed the Senate. Referring to this measure, McKinley said:

The Wilson bill is not like any of the early tariff measures, but is one in which the changed condition of the country and its marvellous growth and development are utterly ignored and forgotten. Its promoters forget that slavery no longer exists. They do not recognize nor appreciate the independency and dignity of labor and cannot understand that the protective policy, under which we have had such splendid prosperity, is not to be determined by geographical lines. The bill is a narrow, sectional and provincial measure, unworthy the great party which proposes it and wholly unsuited to the needs of the country.

After a long wrangle in both Houses of Congress, the Democrats succeeded in passing a tariff law which, while called by some the Wilson bill, can hardly claim this title, because the original bill prepared and passed by the House of Representatives, under the direction of Mr. Wilson, was mutilated and vitally changed by the coterie known as the

Brice-Gorman combination of the Senate. The first utterance of McKinley on the tariff bill after the passage of the measure was an address before the Republicans of Maine, in Bangor, September 8, 1894. He opened by saying:

The Democratic President and the Democratic Congress have been running the Government for eighteen months, during which time little else has been running. Industry has been practically stopped. Labor has found little employment, and when employed it has been at greatly reduced wages. Both Government and people have been draining their reserves, and both have been running in debt. The Government has suffered in its revenues, and the people in their incomes. The total losses to the country in business, property and wages are beyond human calculation. There has been no cessation in the waste of wealth and wages; no contentment, brightness or hope has anywhere appeared. Discontent and distress have been universal. The appeals to charity have never been so numerous and incessant, nor their necessity everywhere so manifest.

Congress has disappointed the people, trifled with the sacred trust confided to it, excited distrust and disgust among its constituents, and impaired their enterprises and investments. In almost continuous session for thirteen months, it has done nothing but aggravate the situation. Pledged, if platforms mean anything, to overthrow our long-continued policy of protection, it has quarreled and compromised, and upon its own testimony has been compromised.

The result of the long wrangle is a tariff law with which nobody is satisfied.

A law which even those who made it apologize for.

A law which the Chairman of the Committee on Ways and Means and almost the entire Democratic side of the House condemned by a yea and nay vote only a few days before its passage, affirming their intention in the most solemn manner not to permit it to be enacted.

A law which was never approved by a majority of either the House Committee on Ways and Means, or the Senate Committee on Finance, who were charged with the preparation and management of the bill.

A law which all factions of the Democratic party agree is the work of a monstrous trust, which Chairman Wilson confessed amid the applause of his confederates, with deep chagrin and humiliation, "held Congress by the throat."

A law which never received the deliberate consideration of the Conference Committee, and was not withdrawn by the Senate only because of the forced and hurried action of the House in accepting it, under the threat of the agent of the trust that it was "that or nothing," and in all human probability nothing.

A law which, since its passage, the majority of the Senators have rushed swiftly forward to denounce and condemn, although they are responsible for its passage.

A law of which the House of Representatives were so thoroughly ashamed that they had no sooner passed it than they made hot haste to seek its immediate amendment by passing supplementary bills, which put their tariffed sugar, coal, lead, iron and barbed wire on the free list, under threats of still further similar assaults on the much disturbed and distressed industries of the country, utterly heedless of the stupendous ruin they have already wrought.

A law which the President condemned before its passage, and from which, when passed, he withheld his approval.

A law which was characterized before its passage by the greatest leader in the Democratic party, the senior Senator from New York, as "a violation of Democratic pledges and principles," and which was denounced by the official head of the Government as such an act of "party perfidy and party dishonor," that if the House should at last concur in it "they would not dare to look the people of the country in the face," and which the executive still condemns, since their surrender, as the very "communism of pelf."

Those who believed that the present administration was to settle the tariff question and take it out of the domain of politics and public discussion, have already discovered their fatal mistake, for they find that even those who made the law spurn it as a settlement. It is a settlement where the participants—those who projected and carried it on—boldly declare either that it is a no settlement, or, if anything, a spurious one.

After eighteen months' useless agitation, not yet content with the vast ruin they have wrought, they are still unwilling to give the business interests of the country any rest or relief, but continue and constantly renew the threat of still other and more hurtful changes in our tariff schedules.

Even the President himself, in his letter to Congressman Catchings of Mississippi, says:

> The millions of our countrymen who have fought bravely and well for tariff reform (not excepting this bill) should be exhorted to continue the struggle, boldly challenging to open warfare, and constantly guarding against treachery and half-heartedness in their camp.

And who, while he permitted the bill to become a law, lacking the moral courage to veto it, yet boastingly announces:

I take my place with the rank and file of the Democratic party who believe in tariff reform and who know what it is; who refuse to accept the results embodied in this bill as the close of the war; who are not blinded by the fact that the livery of Democratic tariff reform has been stolen and worn in the service of Republican protection; and who have marked the places where the deadly blight of treason has blasted the councils of the brave in their hour of might.

Strong and sanguinary words these, and new to Mr. Cleveland's vocabulary, "treason," "and the close of the war." War for and against what? War against the best and the highest interests of the people of the United States, whose chief executive he is. War against our industrial independence and business prosperity. How bravely he sounds the note of battle! How confidently he again calls to arms every enemy to our industrial system, and challenges to open warfare the friends of American prosperity and American labor.

These words were the key note of that wonderful campaign, described elsewhere, which McKinley opened at this time, and which only closed in the following November with the most sweeping victory for the Republican party and protection ever recorded. This victory was conceded on all sides to be largely due to the courageous efforts of McKinley.

One of the first of McKinley's speeches in 1895, following the victory of 1894, was that before the Michigan Club, at Detroit, February 22, 1895, in

which he referred to the victory of 1894 in the following way:

I have not met with the Republicans of Michigan since the great victory of 1894—the great National victory—and I bring to you my congratulations upon the proud part you bore in that great conflict, resulting so triumphantly for Republican principles, and, as I believe, for the best interests of the whole country. I cannot believe that our principles are less dear to us in their triumph than they were in their temporary defeat. I cannot believe that the principles which won a most unprecedented victory from ocean to ocean, require now either modification or abandonment. They are dearer and closer to the American heart than they have ever been in the past, and notwithstanding the magnificent victory of 1894, and notwithstanding these great principles are cherished in the hearts of the American people, there is still a greater and more significant battle to be fought in the near future, before we will realize these principles in administration and legislation.

While, in the situation of the country, there is no cause for congratulation, this is not the time to employ terms of distrust or aggravation. Times are bad enough, and the voice of encouragement is more appropriate than that of alarm and exaggeration. The realities are quite ugly enough, and it is the duty of each of us, by word and act, in so far as it can be done, to improve the present condition. But above all we must not disparage our Government. We must uphold it, and uphold it at all times and under all circumstances, notwithstanding we may not be able to support the measures and policies of the present administration.

In the above utterance McKinley's patriotism rises above his partisanship. In concluding the speech, he said:

Home prosperity is the only key to an easy treasury and a high credit. The Republican party never lowered the flag or the credit of the Government, but has exalted both. I agree with the President, in his recent message, that a predicament confronts us. When I was here six years ago, reading from his message, it was a condition that confronted us, and that condition was an overflowing treasury, made so by Republican legislation. Now I come back to you, and it is a predicament that confronts the people of the United States, because of a deficiency created by the legislation of a Democratic Congress and administration.

I am sure, however, that there is wisdom and patriotism ample enough in the country to relieve ourselves from that or any other predicament, and to place us once more at the head of the nations of the world in credit, production and prosperity. The Republican party needs but to adhere faithfully to its principles—to the principles enunciated by its great National Conventions, which guided the Republic for a third of a century in safety and honor, which gave the country an adequate revenue, and while doing that, labor received comfortable wages, and steady employment; which guarded every American interest at home and abroad with zealous care, principles, the application of which made us a Nation of homes, of independent, prosperous freemen, where all had a fair chance and an equal opportunity in the race for life. You do not have to guess what the Republican party will do. The whole world knows its purposes. It has

embodied them in law, and executed them in administration. It has bravely met every emergency, and has ever measured up to every new duty. It is dedicated to the people; it stands for the United States. It practices what it preaches, and fearlessly enforces what it teaches. Its simple code is home and country. Its central idea is the well-being of the people, and all the people. It has no aim which does not take into account the honor of the Government and the material advancement and happiness of the American people. The Republican party is neither an apology nor a reminiscence. It is proud of its past and it sees greater and greater usefulness in the future.

Not resting on laurels won in 1894, McKinley was again active in the State campaign of 1895, and made several notable speeches, which resulted in the election of General Asa S. Bushnell Governor of Ohio by a plurality of 92,000. The last speech, November 2, 1895, preceding the election, at Cleveland, Ohio, he closed with the following stirring appeal:

They say prosperity has come. Well, we have got more prosperity this year than we had last, because we had none at all last year. They say that wages are better this year than they were last, but we had little or no wages last year, and we did not have any prosperity in this country until after the elections of 1894. When the people of this country from ocean to ocean rose in their might and in their majesty as one man and voted in a Republican House, that was the first rift in the clouds. That was the first star in the business man's constella

tion. Then, with the feeling that for two years the Democratic party could not injure his enterprises, the business man commenced to do business the best he could, making his own advancement, and whatever prosperity we have got now we have got because of that victory and in spite of the Democratic party.

And now you are ready to vote. The people of this country everywhere are ready to vote, for they are sick and tired of this tariff tinkering and the increased bond-issuing, pension-cutting, queen-restoring Democratic administration.

In less than five years we find the apparent defeats of 1890 and 1892 turned into the most sweeping and tremendous victories for the principles of protection ever recorded in American history. The Republican victories of 1895 were even more decisive than those of 1894, for in the former, New Jersey, Maryland and Kentucky came into the Republican line.

CHAPTER XXVI.

VIEWS ON LABOR ISSUES.

In Favor of Arbitration—Short Hours Improve the Stamina of the People—The Living Wage—An Advocate of the Eight-Hour Law—Rights and Dignity of Labor Triumphant in the United States—Liberty and Labor—Patriotic Address at Chicago to Workingmen on July 4, 1895.

IN all matters appertaining to labor in the United States, McKinley is one of the closest students. His experience in connection with tariff matters has qualified him in a marked degree for the still broader study of the labor question, not only as it presents itself in matters of legislation, but in the social economics of the times. Few men know the history of labor during the past century in all parts of the world as well as he does. Few men have made a closer study of labor engaged in manufactures in all parts of the world. No American statesman is to-day so well qualified, by reason of careful study, sound judgment, and intuition as to the higher aims and ambitions of wage earners, to arbitrate fairly in a great labor conflict. Ten years ago, in a speech on labor arbitration, he said:

There is a sense of fair play among the people which, when crystallized into public judgment, is as potent—aye,

more potent—than statute or judicial decree. No railroad corporation, no labor union, no body of laboring men could long hold out against a fair and equitable demand, backed by a willingness to submit the justness of that demand to a board of competent arbitrators. In any view there is no harm in trying this experiment; and in this effort, small and inconsequential as it may seem to be, I am confident we are moving in the right direction, and that nothing but good can result.

Continuing, he said:

I believe in arbitration as a principle; I believe it should prevail in the settlement of international differences. It represents a higher civilization than the arbitrament of war. I believe it is in close accord with the best thought and sentiment of mankind; I believe it is the true way of settling differences between labor and capital; I believe it will bring both to a better understanding, uniting them closer in interest, and promoting better relations, avoiding force, avoiding unjust exactions and oppressions, avoiding the loss of earnings to labor, avoiding disturbances to trade and transportation; and if this House can contribute in the smallest measure, by legislative expression or otherwise, to these ends, it will deserve and receive the gratitude of all men who love peace, good order, justice and fair play.

Under existing conditions the average man is undoubtedly kept busy too many hours. The agitation for shorter hours is the first step for the improvement of the condition of the working men. This agitation is making greater headway in England than in the United States. Wherever it has been fairly tried, it

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has worked satisfactorily. It has not reduced wages. In many cases the eight hour law has increased wages. Wages are low when two men are running after one job. Our recent experience shows this. When two masters are running after one man, wages rise. A reduction in the hours of labor will bring into regular work men who are now either unemployed or half employed. In England, the United States and Australia, those trades that have gained the eight hour law have done so without a fall in wages. Neither has it undermined the property of the capitalist. This also applies to piecework.

While short hours do not reduce wages, they improve the stamina of the people. Men and women who work for wages are getting tired of only being beasts of burden. Life is expanding on all sides. More attention than ever before is given to the work of improving the condition of the people. Such endeavor is wasted if reasonable time is not given for physical, emotional and intellectual enjoyment. It is silly to talk of fresh air, music in the parks, moonlight excursions for the masses, if they are compelled to dig, and dive, and weave, and grind for ten and twelve and fourteen hours a day. A barely broken round of monotonous toil will not develop good citizens. Those who employ labor must begin to realize this.

McKinley favors a protective tariff simply because he believes it one of the instruments which improve the condition of the wage-earner. It helps to maintain wages. Short hours are equally important,

because they confer the power and opportunity to enjoy the advantages of decent wages. Cheapness is the enemy of those who labor. It is the degradation of labor. Below the living wage no man should be expected to labor. Long hours are the enemy of health. Evil physical effects follow undue labor. No man or woman should be required to do more than eight hours of steady work per day. What is true in mechanical pursuits and trades holds good in stores and offices. Early closing not only confers a benefit upon those whose hours of toil are lessened, but it elevates and Christianizes the whole community.

Those who understand the full meaning of the eight hour law will appreciate the fact that McKinley has gone to the bottom of this question, and is conversant with the soundest and most advanced views on the subject. Hardly any act of legislation would be more truly beneficial to the labor interests of both sides the Atlantic than the enactment and absolute enforcement of the eight hour law. Wherever this law has been fairly tried, and it has been in many industries, especially in England, it has worked satisfactorily. During the recent depression in England, by the enforcement of the eight hour regulation for public servants by the London County Council, and by Parliament as applied to some departments of the Government, such as the navy department, over thirty thousand idle workmen were given employment. It is also an established fact that even piece workers employed eight hours per day make just as

much money in their time as they used to make in working much longer hours. It is natural, therefore, that we should find this advanced statesman on the side of the question which favors the upbuilding of labor, and not its degradation. Long, weary hours make poor citizens for a free country, indifferent parents, and lower the stamina of the people. When the bill constituting eight hours a day's work for all laborers and mechanics employed by the Government came up in Congress, McKinley said:

I am in favor of this bill. It has been said that it is a bill to limit the opportunities of the workingman to gain a livelihood. This is not true; it will have the opposite effect. So far as the Government of the United States as an employer is concerned, in the limitation for a day's work provided in this bill to eight hours, instead of putting any limitation upon the opportunity of the American freeman to earn a living, it increases and enlarges his opportunity. Eight hours, under the laws of the United States, constitute a day's work. That law has been on our statute books for twenty or more years. In all these years it has been "the word of promise to the ear," but by the Government of the United States it has been "broken to the hope." The Government and its officials should be swift to execute and enforce its own laws; failure in this particular is most reprehensible. Now, it must be remembered that when we constitute eight hours a day's work, instead of ten hours, every four days give an additional day's work to some workingman who may not have any employment at all. It is one more day's work, one more day's wages, one more opportunity for work and wages, an increased demand for labor. I am in

favor of the bill as it is amended by the gentleman from Maryland. It applies now only to the labor of men's hands. It applies only to their work. It does not apply to material, it does not apply to transportation. It only applies to the actual labor, skilled or unskilled, employed on public works and in the execution of the contracts of the Government. And the Government of the United States ought, finally and in good faith, to set this example of eight hours as constituting a day's work required of laboring men in the service of the United States. The tendency of the times the world over is for shorter hours for labor, shorter hours in the interest of health, shorter hours in the interest of humanity, shorter hours in the interest of the home and the family; and the United States can do no better service to labor and to its own citizens than to set the example to States, to corporations and to individuals employing men by declaring that, so far as the Government is concerned, eight hours shall constitute a day's work, and be all that is required of its laboring force. This bill should be passed. My colleague, Mr. Morey, has stated what we owe the family in this connection, and Cardinal Manning, in a recent article, spoke noble words on the general subject when he said:

"But if the domestic life of the people be vital above all; if the peace, the purity of homes, the education of children, the duties of wives and mothers, the duties of husbands and of fathers be written in the natural law of mankind, and if these things are sacred, far beyond anything that can be sold in the market, then I say, if the hours of labor resulting from the unregulated sale of a man's strength and skill shall lead to the destruction of domestic life, to the neglect of children, to turning wives

and mothers into living machines, and of fathers and husbands into—what shall I say, creatures of burden?—I will not say any other word—who rise up before the sun, and come back when it is set, wearied and able only to take food and lie down to rest, the domestic life of men exists no longer, and we dare not go on in this path."

We owe something to the care, the elevation, the dignity and the education of labor. We owe something to the workingmen and the families of the workingmen throughout the United States who constitute the largest body of our population, and this bill is a step in the right direction.

The following noble words spoken to the American workingmen in an address at Cincinnati, Ohio, September 1, 1891, on Labor Day, will go home to the hearts of those who toil:

Nowhere in the world has the cause of labor, its rights and its dignities, been more triumphant than in the United States. Labor here is free and independent; slave labor has been abolished, and the workman makes his own contracts and enters only into voluntary employment. He is his own master; no man owns his laborer. He is respected and honored in every walk of life, he has by merit forged his way to the very front rank in mechanism and invention, and his trophies are seen on every hand. The advantages which we enjoy as a people, and which crown the opportunities which we enjoy above all other nations, are the character and quality of our labor. American workmen are, as a body, the most ingenious and intelligent of the world. Inventiveness has come to be a national trait. The United States Gov-

ernment issues four times as many patents as Great Britain, our greatest competitor. From the patent office in Washington, during the past decade, there have been issued annually from 18,000 to 22,000 patents, the greatest number in the history of any country in any previous period of the world's history. At the International Electrical Exposition at Paris, a few years ago, five gold medals were offered for the greatest inventions or discoveries. How many of them, do you suppose, came to the United States? *Only five.* Testimonials to our mechanical superiority abound on every hand. The *Mechanical World* of London, a great trades organ of England, says the United States has the best machinery and tools in the world. The French Minister of Commerce has made public an official report to him that the superiority of tools used here and the attention to details too often neglected in Europe, are elements of great danger to the supremacy of European industries.

What the late President Garfield said of our great Centennial Exposition, I doubt not, will be proclaimed of the World's Fair of 1893. In a speech in Congress, in 1878, General Garfield observed:

"Let it be remembered that twenty-two per cent of all the laboring people of this country are artisans engaged in manufactures. Their culture has been fostered by our laws. It is their pursuits and the skill which they developed that produced the glory of our Centennial Exposition. To them the country owes the splendor of the position it holds before the world more than to any equal number of our citizens."

As more than twenty-two per cent of our laboring people are now skilled artisans, and are now more advanced and skillful and prosperous than ever, so am I

confident that the glory of our great Columbian Exposition, at Chicago, will be attributed in a larger degree to them than to any or all other forces. It is our glory that the American laborer is more intelligent and better paid than his foreign competitor, and so far no call upon his greater inventive skill and genius has been made in vain. Herbert Spencer has testified, "Beyond question, in respect to mechanical appliances the Americans are ahead of all other nations." Superior tools would alone give us no small advantage, but the possession of the best machinery implies much more, namely, that we have also the best mechanics in the world.

There are some things we should remember, however. Nothing is cheap which enforces idleness upon our own people. Invention does not follow idleness. Nothing is cheap which permits to slumber in our hills and mountains the rich raw materials that only await the manipulation of man to produce untold wealth. The first duty of a nation is to enact those laws which will give to its citizens the widest opportunity for labor and the best rewards for work done. You can not have the best citizenship without these encouragements; and with us the best citizenship is required to secure the best government, the best laws, and their wise administration. Our citizenship must be protected in every way possible, for upon it rest the permanency and glory of our institutions.

If I were called upon to say what, in my opinion, constitutes the strength and security and integrity of the Government, I should say the American home. It lies at the very beginning and foundation of a pure national life. The good home makes the good citizen, and the good citizen makes wholesome public sentiment. Good government follows. It matters little what our occupa-

tions may be. Every employment is honorable which is an honest employment. The capital of one may be in his hand and eye, the capital of another his brain and intellectual equipment. Both are equally honorable and useful and necessary. We need them both. We can not get on without both. Both contribute to national and individual welfare and the advancement and elevation of the people. There are many skilled workmen who earn more money than the average member of the learned professions. The family of the workingman is the unit of our national welfare.

Many of the men who labored with their hands thirty years ago are now at the head of the great industrial institutions of the country. In the railroad service the best and most responsible positions are now filled not from the ranks of capital but from the ranks of labor. The system of promotion upon merit is fast becoming the rule of the great corporations; so that skill and industry and adaptation to work are almost certain to secure advancement and promotion and independence. Good places are always open to beckon the industrious and intelligent employe.

The great editors of the country commenced at the very bottom. When Horace Greeley founded the New York *Tribune*, in 1841, among the employes at eight and ten dollars a week were George William Curtis, the gifted editor of *Harper's Weekly;* Mr. George Jones, lately deceased, who became the editor and proprietor of the New York *Times*, a great and influential journal, and Charles A. Dana, who is now the brilliant editor and proprietor of the New York *Sun*. The men who control and manage other great enterprises of the country also, are, in the main, men who commenced in the shop

or on the farm as laborers. And the conditions of labor are constantly being improved. With shorter hours, better tools and machinery, security and protection from accident, bad buildings and bad ventilation, strictly enjoined by law upon those who employ labor, we have much which is cause of congratulation. But much still remains to be done for the benefit and amelioration of labor. Improvement in every walk of life is the outgrowth of thought and discussion and ambition. We do better as we are better ourselves.

The ideals of yesterday are the truths of to-day. What we hope for and aspire to now we will realize in the future if we are prudent and careful. If right is on our side, and we pursue resolute but orderly methods to secure our end, it is sure to come. There is no better way of securing what we want, and what we believe is best for us and those for whom we have a care, than the old way of striving earnestly and honestly for it. The labor of the country constitutes its strength and its wealth, and the better that labor is conditioned, the higher its rewards, the wider its opportunities, and the greater its comforts and refinements, the better will be our civilization, the more sacred will be our homes, the more capable our children, and the nobler will be the destiny which awaits us. We can only walk in the path of right, resolutely insisting upon the right, always being sure at the same time that we are right ourselves, and time will bring the victories. To labor is accorded its full share of the advantages of a Government like ours. None more than the laborers enjoy the benefits and blessings which our free institutions make. This country differs in many and essential respects from other countries, and, as is often said, it is just this difference which makes us the best of

all. It is the difference between our political equality and the caste conditions of other nations which elevates and enlightens the American laborer, and inspires within him a feeling of pride and manhood. It is the difference in recompense received by him for his labor and that received by the foreigner which enables him to acquire for himself and his a cheery home and the comforts of life. It is the difference between our educational facilities and the less liberal opportunities for learning in other lands which vouchsafes to him the priceless privilege of rearing a happy, intelligent and God-fearing family. The great Matthew Arnold has truly said, "America holds the future." It is in commemoration of the achievements of labor in the past that Labor Day was established. It was eminently fitting that the people should turn aside on one day of the year from their usual vocations and rejoice together over the unequaled prosperity that has been vouchsafed to them. The triumphs of American labor can not easily be recited nor its trophies enumerated. But, great as they have been in the past, I am fully convinced that there are richer rewards in store for labor in the future.

McKinley's last utterance on labor issues may be found in his address, "Liberty and Labor," delivered July 4, 1895, at Chicago. This oration was delivered at the request of the Illinois State Federation of Labor and of the Trade and Labor Assembly of Chicago. It was an important occasion. The address he gave was declared one of the most patriotic of his many speeches on this and kindred topics. He opened by saying:

We are a Nation of working people; some one has said that Americans are born busy, and that they never find time to be idle or indolent. We glory in the fact that in the dignity and elevation of labor we find our greatest distinction among the nations of the earth. The United States possesses practically as much energy or working power as Great Britain, Germany and France combined, so that the ratio of working power falling to each American is double that of other nations. But with our improved and superior machinery, each American laborer is enabled to accomplish, relatively, still more than his European competitor. The American laborer not only does more and better work, but there are more skilled, intelligent and capable artisans here now in proportion to the total population than in any other country of the world. No other country can boast of so great a percentage of producers among her instructed population, and none other can point to so large a number of enlightened and educated citizens.

His closing words upon that occasion breathe an earnest patriotism and abjure those who labor to have confidence in the strength of our free institutions and faith in the justice of their fellow-citizens. These are indeed inspiring words:

What a mighty Nation has been erected upon the immortal principles of the great declaration, the signing of which we celebrate to-day! We have increased from thirteen to forty-four States; from 3,000,000 to nearly 70,000,000 people. We have arisen from slavery to freedom; from what some men believed a mere confederacy of States, to be dissolved at pleasure, to a mighty, eternal Union of indivisible, indestructible States; from

an agricultural community to the foremost Nation of the world in all the arts and sciences, in manufactures, in agriculture and in mining. Liberty, labor and love have accomplished it all. Labor has been dignified and has vindicated the truth that the best citizen of any community is its most useful citizen. All men have equal rights guaranteed by our Constitution and laws, and that equality must be forever preserved and strengthened and everywhere recognized. We are all Americans, we are all sovereigns, equal in the ballot, and that citizen is the best who does his best; who follows the light as God gives him to see the light; who concedes to all the races of mankind what he claims for himself; who rigidly respects the rights of others; who is ever willing and ready to assist others; who has the best heart, the best character, the greatest charity and sympathy, and who withholds from none of his fellow-men the respect, privileges and protection he claims for himself. This is the citizenship that is the need of every age, and to which we must educate ourselves and those who are to come after us. This is the citizenship that is the hope of the Republic, its security and permanency, which is the hope of mankind, our own best hope; a citizenship that is faithful to home and family, devotedly loyal to country, that encourages the truest and broadest national spirit, the most thorough and genuine Americanism, that is ever moving onward and upward toward the highest ideals of modern civilization; a citizenship that respects law and constituted authority, that loyally upholds, guards and supports the Government of which it is a part, in whose administration it has a voice, and that rests upon the free choice and consent of a majority of the people. These were the characteristics which pos-

sessed the souls of the men who landed in the *Mayflower*, who resisted British oppression, who promulgated the immortal Declaration of Independence. These are the elements of character which gave us a Patrick Henry, a Franklin, a Washington, a Jefferson, an Adams, a Jackson, a Grant, and which produced a Lincoln, whose name has enriched history, and whose great Emancipation Proclamation has blessed mankind and glorified God.

It was this character of citizenship, and the aim to secure it, that animated the men who fought all the battles of the Republic from the Revolution to the great Civil War; that struck slavery from the Constitution of the United States, that obliterated caste and bondage and made freedom universal in the Republic. The greatest battle which the Nation has fought has been to secure to labor the right to do with its skill, energy and industry what it chooses, through lawful pursuits and by peaceable means, ever obedient to law and order, and respectful of the rights of all; that has given labor the unquestioned right to use what it earns in its own way in the elevation of home and family; that has taught labor to give conscience its full sway, and that has inspired labor to improve wisely every opportunity which makes possible the realization of the highest hopes and best aspirations of the human race.

Peace, order and good will among the people, with patriotism in their hearts; truth, honor and justice in the executive, judicial and legislative branches of the Government, municipal, state and national; all yielding respect and obedience to law, all equal before the law, and all alike amenable to law—such are the conditions that will make our Government too strong ever to be broken by internal dissensions and too powerful ever to

be overturned by any enemy from without. Then will the government of the people, under the smiles of heaven, bless, prosper and exalt the people who sustain and support it.

In America, no one is born to power; none assured of station or command except by his own worth or usefulness. But to any post of honor all who choose may aspire, and history has proved that the humblest in youth are frequently the most honored and powerful in the maturity of strength and age. It has long been demonstrated that the philosophy of Jefferson is true, and that this, the land of the free and self-governed, is the strongest as well as the best government in the world. We accept no governmental standards but our own; we will have no flag but the glorious old stars and stripes.

Workingmen of Chicago, let me abjure you to be faithful to the acts, traditions and teachings of the fathers. Make their standard of patriotism and duty your own. Be faithful to their glorious example. Whatever the difficulties of the present, or problems of the future, meet them in the same spirit of unflinching loyalty to country, the same devotion and love for home and family, the same acknowledgment of dependence upon God that has always characterized those grand men. Therein rests your greatest prosperity and happiness, and the surest attainment of your best and dearest ambitions. Have confidence in the strength of our free institutions and faith in the justice of your fellow-citizens, for as Lincoln often said, "There is no other hope in the world equal to it."

In conclusion, let me offer the advice and exhortation of one who spoke on an occasion somewhat similar to this in the Centennial year 1876 in the city of Boston,

the venerable Robert C. Winthrop of Massachusetts, in his masterly Fourth of July oration, and one of his last great public addresses. He had lived through nearly the whole period of our national existence, and had been an active participant in public affairs and a close student of our history and people for many years. With this training and all the wisdom and experience of age, he profoundly observed:

"If I could hope without presumption that any humble counsels of mine, on this hallowed anniversary, would be remembered beyond the hour of their utterance and reach the ears of my countrymen in future days, I could not omit certainly to reiterate the solemn obligations which rest on every citizen of this Republic to cherish and enforce the great principles of our Colonial and Revolutionary fathers—the principles of liberty and law, one and inseparable—the principles of the Constitution and the Union. I could not omit to urge every man to remember that self-government politically can only be successful if it be accompanied by self-government personally; that there must be government somewhere; and that if the people are indeed to be sovereigns they must exercise their sovereignty over themselves individually as well as over themselves in the aggregate—regulating their own lives, resisting their own temptations, subduing their own passions and voluntarily imposing upon themselves some measure of that restraint and discipline which, under other systems, is supplied from the armories of arbitrary power—the discipline of virtue, in the place of the discipline of slavery. I could not omit to caution them against the corrupting influence, of intemperance, extravagance and luxury; I could not omit to call upon them to foster and further the cause

of universal education; to give a liberal support to our schools and colleges; to promote the advancement of science and art in all their multiplied divisions and relations, and to encourage and sustain all those noble institutions of charity which in our own land, above all others, have given the crowning grace and glory to modern civilization."

It would to me be an honor beyond any other to have been the author of these sublime sentiments. I can and do adopt them, and beg you to heed, cherish and teach them, as a rule of action to yourselves and to your children. American citizenship thus molded will perpetuate freedom, exalt the freeman, and distinguish the Republic beyond its past glorious achievements.

And this is McKinley's platform when dealing with labor. Surely it commends itself to those who toil.

CHAPTER XXVII.

FAIR ELECTIONS.

The Honest Voter has No Fear of Law—Fair Elections a Necessity if the Republic is to Last—Folly of the Repeal of the Federal Election Law—The Question Will Not Rest Until Equality of Suffrage is Established Beyond Question.

NEXT to the great questions relating to revenue and taxation, which we had to face in order to put the Nation on a firm financial footing after the devastation of the Civil War, and the military issues arising therefrom, it is safe to assume that the question of free and fair elections, not only in Southern States but in the North, is of vital import to the Nation. If there are more comprehensive, more carefully prepared, more thoroughly weighed and more patriotic utterances on record in reference to this subject than those made by McKinley, we are not aware of it.

In this issue, as in all other great National issues, McKinley has never hesitated to take strong sides and express himself in the most unmistakable terms. As far back as 1879, when the Democratic party made its first movement against the Federal election law, the Congressional Record shows that one of its

strongest advocates was the member from Ohio. He saw at once that the repeal of this law would remove every safeguard against fraud in the exercise of the elective franchise, and was a wanton attempt to wipe from the law all protection of the ballot-box and surrender its purity to the hired repeater and its control to the ballot-box-stuffers of the great cities of the North and the tissue ballot party of the South. A glance at a speech delivered by him at this time shows that McKinley has as thoroughly mastered this subject as the distinguished member who had charge of the bill. He said:

Has any legal voter in the United States been prevented from exercising his right of suffrage by this law, or by the officers acting under it? This is the practical question. None that I have ever heard of; while thousands, yes, tens of thousands of illegal voters have been deterred from voting by virtue of it. The honest voter has no fear of this law; it touches him as lightly as the law of larceny touches the honest man, or the law of murder touches him whose hands are stainless of human blood. The thief hates the law of larceny, the murderer the law of homicide. They, too, can truthfully urge the cost of the execution of these laws; both are expensive and onerous to the taxpayer. But I have never known such arguments seriously entertained as a reason for their repeal. The law is without terror save to wrongdoers. The presence of officers of the law only deters criminals from the commission of crime. They are no restraints upon the honest man. You can form no system of laws which will not be open to some criticism and abuse. These prove nothing against the importance and neces-

sity of their maintenance. If any better method can be offered for preserving the ballot-box in its purity, I will cordially accept it and labor for its passage, but until such better method is proposed, we should stand by existing statutes. We cannot afford to break down a single safeguard which has been thrown around the ballot-box. Every guarantee must be kept and maintained. Fair-minded people everywhere are interested in honest elections. It is not a partisan measure; it falls alike upon all political parties. The law recognizes no political creed, and those who execute it should carefully obey its letter and spirit. It protects Democrats and Republicans and men of all parties alike.

Although the Federal election law, by reason of the Democratic victory in 1892, has been repealed, the above will at once be recognized as an impartial and concise statement of the question from the Republican point of view, not only as it presented itself in April, 1879, when this speech was made, but as it appeared when, by virtue of a majority, the Democrats were able to remove this safeguard of the free ballot. No more thorough and convincing argument, showing the folly of the repeal of these laws, could be written to-day than the one given in the House of Representatives by McKinley sixteen years ago. A year later (1880) in speaking in Columbus, Ohio, on the crimes against the ballot, we find the following sentiment, which applies to some of the Southern States to-day with stunning force:

Is this system of disfranchisement to be further permitted? Is the Republican sentiment thus to be hushed

in the South, and how long? Are the men who increase the representative power throughout these States to have no representation? Are free thought and free political action to be crushed out in one section of our country? I answer No! No! But that the whole power of the Federal Government must be exhausted in securing to every citizen, black or white, rich or poor, everywhere within the limits of the Union, every right, civil and political, guaranteed by the Constitution and the laws. Nothing short of this will satisfy public conscience, public morals and public justice.

In 1890, though engaged in framing the tariff bill, McKinley took part in the debate on the Federal election bill. He took the ground that while the bill might not be in all its provisions what he would like to have it, it was a bill looking to honest representation on the floor of the American House of Representatives, to honest voting and a fair count of votes in every part and section of the Republic. McKinley said:

That is all there is of the bill, and no honest man can afford to oppose it. It is said that this measure is harsh. It will rest heavily only upon districts and upon States which violate the laws and the Constitution of our common country. Let every citizen of this Republic vote, and then see to it that his vote is counted as it is cast, and returned as counted, and you never need invoke any of the provisions of the bill or subject yourselves to what you termed its harsh provisions. But they say that it is expensive; that it will cause $10,000,000 to be taken out of the National treasury. That as-

sumes that the three hundred and thirty districts of this country will invoke the operation of the law. But there is not a man on this floor who does not know that not a hundred districts in the United States will invoke its operation when it goes into effect. It will not be required even in that number. And let me remind gentlemen on the other side of this chamber, as well as my friends on this side of the chamber, that you will diminish the cost of the administration of this bill in the ratio that you diminish fraudulent voting, false counting, stuffing of ballot boxes, and suppressing the voice of the Republicans in the South. It will cost nothing if it is not used, and it will not be used if there is no need for it. Honest elections will make the law unnecessary; dishonest ones should be stopped by the strong arm of the law.

In concluding, he said:

The question will not rest until justice is done; and the consciences of the American people will not be permitted to slumber until this great Constitutional right—the equality of suffrage, the equality of opportunity, freedom of political action and political thought—shall be not the mere cold formalities of Constitutional enactment as now, but a living birthright which the poorest and the humblest citizen, white or black, native-born or naturalized, may confidently enjoy, and which the richest and most powerful dare not deny. Remember that God puts no nation in supreme place which will not do supreme duty. God keeps no nation in supreme place which will not perform the supreme duty of the hour, and He will not long prosper that nation which will not protect and defend its weakest citizens. It is our supreme

duty to enforce the Constitution and laws of the United States "and dare to be strong for the weak." Gentlemen of the other side, I appeal to you to obey the laws and the Constitution; obey them as we obey and observe them; for I tell you the people of the North will not continue to permit two votes in the South to count as much as five votes in the North.

CHAPTER XXVIII.

FINANCIAL QUESTIONS.

McKinley Would as Soon Lower the Flag as Debase the National Currency—Favors the Use of Gold and Silver at a Parity of Values—A Comprehensive View of the Currency Question—Philadelphia Speeches Opposing Return to State Bank Currency.

McKINLEY stands squarely upon the National Republican platform as to its financial declarations. Talking to the reporter of a Kansas City paper, in 1895, he said: "I would as soon think of lowering the flag of my country as to think of lowering its National credit or honor." He has always favored the use of gold and silver and paper with a parity of values.

In his speech at Dayton, Ohio, October 26, 1893, McKinley, in referring to the repeal of the "Sherman law" of 1890, said:

I was in the House of Representatives when that bill became a law. I advocated and voted for it, and I have no apologies to make either for my party or myself for the action thus taken. It was the best possible financial measure attainable at the time, and was only meant for temporary relief. Its adoption prevented the passage of a financial scheme that would have disarranged and destroyed almost the entire business of the country, and

the measure was at best a compromise. It has served a noble purpose, and has given to the country $150,000,000 of treasury notes, all as good as gold, possessing every attribute of the old greenback, which the people loved so well, every one redeemable in coin, either gold or silver, at the pleasure of the Government, and every one of the notes a legal tender for all debts, public and private. The Republican party has not revised its monetary policy. It stands where it has always stood. It believes in gold, silver and paper money, and that every kind of money we use must be issued by the Government of the United States, and by no power less than that Government. It will have no "wild-cat" money, no State bank money, but insists that every dollar which circulates must be National money, as good as the Government itself, and respected wherever our flag is respected.

In his great speech at Philadelphia, in the National campaign of 1892, on September 23, McKinley said:

The proposition to go back to State bank circulation is, perhaps, the worst manifestation of financial unsoundness that has ever emanated from the Democratic leaders, mischievous and prolific as they have been in such schemes for generations past. It is more dangerous than their wild-cat propositions during the inflation era, through which the country has happily passed, although inflation and repudiation were encouraged by those who were then in control of the Democratic party. It is infinitely more harmful than the irredeemable greenback in unlimited volume, as was once proposed by that party. It would be a hundred-fold more hurtful, more destructive to business and trade, more disastrous to every interest, than the free and unlimited coinage of silver—*bad*

as that would be. For forty years the Democratic leaders have been unsound in their financial policies. This unsoundness has not always taken the same form, but its effect has always been to corrupt and debase the currency of the country. Driven from their opposition to resumption by the thoughtful men of their party, who voted against them when that issue was presented, they then demanded an inflation of the currency and the payment of the bonds in greenbacks. Routed from that position by the sober sense of the country, they became the advocates of the free and unlimited coinage of a dollar worth less than one hunderd cents. Driven from that by party exigeney, they now pronounce for a financial policy which would inflict upon the country the most worthless currency we have ever had. If this was all there was of the campaign, it ought to be enough to defeat the party which in a deliberate convention of the representatives of the National Democracy has resolved to go back to the wild-cat currency of forty years ago.

In the Ohio State campaign of 1891, when McKinley was first a candidate for Governor, the Democratic party declared directly in their platform for "the free and unlimited coinage of silver." It thus became a direct issue, and Governor Campbell, the Democratic candidate, declared in a newspaper interview soon after his renomination, that he "was willing to chance it on free silver." To this McKinley replied in his opening speech, at Niles, Ohio, on August 22, 1891, as follows:

Governor Campbell declared in one of his recent interviews, that while he has doubts about it, he was willing

"to chance the free and unlimited coinage of silver." I am not willing to "chance" it. We can not gamble with anything so sacred as money, which is the standard and measure of values. I can imagine nothing which would be more disturbing to our credit and more deranging to our commercial and financial affairs than to make this the dumping-ground of the world's silver. The silver producer might be benefited, but the silver user never. If there is to be any profit in the coinage of silver, it should go to the Government. It has gone to the Government ever since the Bland-Allison law went into effect. This new declaration would take it from the Government and give it to the silver producer. Now, the people know that if we had two yard-sticks, one three feet in length and the other two and a half feet in length, the buyer would always have his goods measured to him by the shorter stick, and that the longer stick would go into permanent disuse It is exactly so with money. A one-hundred-cent dollar will go out of circulation alongside an eighty-cent dollar, which is a legal tender by the fiat of the Government; and no class of people will suffer so much as the wage-earner and the agriculturist. If it is the farmer you would benefit, there is one way to do it. Make the bushel measure with which he measures his wheat for the buyer, three pecks instead of four, and require the buyer to pay as much for three pecks as he now pays for four. I am in favor of the double standard, but I am not in favor of the free and unlimited coinage of silver in the United States until the nations of the world shall join us in guaranteeing to silver a status which their laws now accord to gold. The double standard implies equality at a ratio, and that equality can only be estab-

lished by the concurrent law of nations. It was the concurrent law of nations that made the double standard, it will require the concurrent law of nations to reinstate and sustain it. Until then, for us to decree the free and unlimited coinage of the world's silver would be to ordain that our silver dollars must surely depreciate, and gold inevitably go to a premium. No man knows what the future may be, but in our present condition and with our present light, every consideration of safety requires us to hold our present status until the other great nations shall agree to an international ratio.

In his speech upon the "Silver Bill," in the House of Representatives, Washington, June 29, 1890, when chairman of the Ways and Means Committee, McKinley said:

We should preserve the two moneys, gold and silver, side by side. It is because I want so to preserve these equal standards of value that I have opposed and shall oppose concurrence in the Senate amendments. I do not want gold at a premium. I do not want silver at a discount, or *vice versa*. But I want both metals side by side equal in purchasing power and in legal tender quality, equal in power to perform the functions of money with which to do the business and move the commerce of the United States. To tell me that the free and unlimited coinage of silver of the world, in the absence of co-operation on the part of other commercial nations, will not bring gold to a premium, is to deny all history and the weight of all financial experience. The very instant that you have opened up our mints to the silver bullion of the world, independently of international action, that very instant, or in a brief time at best, you

have sent gold to a premium, then you have put it in great measure into disuse, and we are remitted to the single standard, that of silver alone; we have deprived ourselves of the use of both metals. It is only because of the safe and conservative financial policy of the Republican party, aided by the conservative men of both parties, which has more than once received the approval of the country, that, since 1878, by our legislation, we have compelled gold and silver to work together upon an equality, both employed as safe means of exchange in the business of our country. Let the bullion of the world come into this market from Europe and Asia, and then, whether gold flows out of this country or not, it flows out of the channels of business and the avenues of trade, and we are in danger of being driven to the use of silver alone.

CHAPTER XXIX.

RECIPROCITY.

Blaine Fully in Accord With McKinley—Inside History of the Reciprocity Movement—McKinley Voted for the Reciprocity Amendment, Both in the Committee and in Congress—Congressman Grosvenor Shows How the Reciprocity Clause Improved Foreign Trade—Gail Hamilton on the Subject.

THE truth of history demands the statement that Blaine's pet scheme of Reciprocity had a firm friend in McKinley from the time of its inception. Probably no man stood closer to Mr. Blaine in this matter than Mr. William Eleroy Curtis, Secretary of the Bureau of American Republics. He was in a position to know not only the attitude of Mr. Blaine, but that of other public men, in relation to the question of Reciprocity. During the Ohio gubernatorial campaign of 1891, an attempt was made by the Democrats to show that Blaine was opposed to the "McKinley Bill" and that McKinley had been opposed to Reciprocity. In an authorized interview published in the Massillon (Ohio) *Independent*, August 19, 1891, Mr. Curtis demolished both these misrepresentations, as follows:

"The history of the Reciprocity movement is this: The Pan-American conference had the question under

discussion while the House Committee on Ways and Means was framing the present tariff law, and adopted a report, written by Mr. Romero of Mexico, recommending the adoption of reciprocity among American nations so far as could be done without impairing their necessary revenues. On February 10, 1880, Mr. Blaine met the House committee in Mr. McKinley's rooms at the Ebbitt House. He explained the situation, and asked the committee not to disturb the duties on merchandise from South America.

"They did not follow his suggestion, but prepared their bill without regard to the conference. When Mr. Blaine found that it was proposed to remove the duty on sugar, he sent me to Mr. McKinley with a proposition which he wanted added to the bill as an amendment. It afterwards became known as the Hale amendment. It provided that the President should be authorized to take off the duty on sugar whenever the sugar producing nations removed their duties on our farm products and certain other articles.

"Mr. McKinley presented this amendment to the Committee on Ways and Means. It was not adopted. Mr. McKinley voted for it the first time it was presented. Then a second proposition containing some modifications was presented, and Mr. McKinley voted for that, as he voted for the Blaine reciprocity amendment every time it was submitted in whatever form.

"It has been currently reported that Mr. Blaine

denounced the McKinley bill with so much vigor that he smashed his hat. Mr. Blaine's opposition to the bill was because of the free sugar clause. He criticised the refusal of Congress to take advantage of conditions which he thought were very favorable to our trade. They proposed to throw away the duty on sugar when he wanted them to trade with it.

"When what was known as the Aldrich amendment was adopted, Mr. Blaine was perfectly satisfied, and there is nothing in the current tales that he is unfriendly to McKinley. On the contrary, he is one of his warmest friends. Had it not been for Mr. McKinley and Senator Aldrich of Rhode Island the reciprocity clause in the tariff act would never have been adopted."

Mr. Curtis is not the only authority we have on this point. In a recent speech by Hon. Charles H. Grosvenor he referred not only to the benefits of the McKinley law, but to its effect in increasing foreign commerce:

Who spoke anywhere about the rates of the McKinley law as compared with the rates of the schedules of the Wilson bill? Who talked about it? Nobody charged with any duty, nobody authorized by any political party or any political organization. The whole burden of our campaign was that the Democratic party is seeking to overthrow just and adequate protection to American industry. We are for that principle; they are against it. That was the shibboleth, and in *hoc signo vinces.*

The talk about changing the issue upon which the Republicans are to fight the battle of 1896, and deserting

protection, comes from two sources only. The Democratic leaders want it to a man. They realize that it was the tariff which defeated them both this year and last, and that it will inevitably defeat them again. They are anxious for the change which some alleged Republican organs are foolish enough to suggest.

If they can only induce the Republicans to fight the campaign of 1896 on the money question, if there is any such question, at the same time it gave to this country the largest foreign trade and the largest free list of non-competing foreign products it has ever known.

Gail Hamilton, in her recently published biography of James G. Blaine, states that Mr. McKinley was one of the earliest converts to Reciprocity.

CHAPTER XXX.

PUBLIC SCHOOLS AND EDUCATION.

An Open School-house the Highest Evidence of Civilization—It Makes the Great Possibilities of the Republic—Security for Our Liberties and Independence—A Teacher Once Himself, McKinley Speaks Lovingly and Enthusiastically on Our Public System of Education—A Word on the Jewish Race.

FROM an educational standpoint, it may be truthfully said that McKinley represents our public school system, which he has so frequently referred to with force and eloquence. Like many other American statesmen, his early education was imbibed at the country school-house, which has done perhaps more than any other element of our civilization to spread the patriotic sentiments which inspire us with love for the Republic. As has been shown in the chapter on his boyhood days, McKinley not only attended the country school in true American fashion, but we find him, when quite a young man, teaching school near Poland in a little school-house, a sketch of which may be found in this volume. It is true he afterwards went to college for a short time, but the foundation of his education lay in the public schools of the United States.

Under these circumstances, it is hardly a matter of

surprise that McKinley should be an enthusiastic admirer of our public school system; that he should on every opportunity refer to it with a feeling of affection, and that he should regard the little school-house as the strongest rock and the most enduring stone of the temple of liberty. One has a large range of speeches on educational matters to select from, as he has delivered, during the twenty years of his public career, numerous addresses bearing on this topic. The extracts presented below are from an address at the dedication of a public school building at Canal Fulton, Ohio, August 30, 1887. The sentiments expressed therein are so inspiring to the youth of the country that they have been selected in preference to some more pretentious addresses:

An open school-house, free to all, evidences the highest type of advanced civilization. It is the gateway to progress, prosperity and honor, and the best security for the liberties and independence of the people. It is the strongest rock of the foundation, the most enduring stone of the temple of liberty; our surest stay in every storm, our present safety, our future hope—aye, the very citadel of our influence and power. It is better than garrisons and guns, than forts and fleets. An educated people, governed by true moral principles, can never take a backward step, nor be dispossessed of their citizenship or liberties.

What a marvelous conception is the public school system of Ohio!

Permanently ingrafted upon the policy and legislation of the State, it is free to all; to it all are invited and welcome, without money and without price. It is sup-

SCHOOL HOUSE, NEAR POLAND, OHIO, WHERE M'KINLEY TAUGHT SCHOOL IN THE WINTER OF 1860–'61.

ported with boundless generosity by the people of the State, open to the children of the humblest citizen or exiled sojourner within our gates, as freely and ungrudgingly as to the native-born, or the children of the most opulent. Within its jurisdiction all distinctions, social, political and religious, are banished; all differences hushed; all barriers removed. It recognizes neither party nor church, creed, condition, nor station; but, free as the air we breathe, its bounties and benefits fall in equal measure upon all.

I fear sometimes that we do not appreciate these advantages and blessings. The older men and women before me realize the disparity between the educational facilities of their childhood and those enjoyed by the present generation. The log school-house is gone; in its place stands the stately modern edifice, built by the thoughtful generosity of a great State. The few weeks, or at best months, of schooling in a whole year, with long distances to travel to secure even the meager advantages of the earlier times, have given place to full ten months' instruction at every cross-roads, within easy reach of the children of every hamlet. The simple studies of reading, writing and arithmetic, which constituted the entire curriculum of our fathers, and to which they so diligently applied themselves, while still retained, have been supplemented by a course of study which rivals even that of the colleges. One marvels not that it includes scientific and historical studies, the higher mathematics, the ancient languages—all within grasp of the Ohio boy and girl, all of use to the mental equipment of every-day life, all essential to the higher and greater duties which every American citizen may be called to perform.

These advantages should be sacredly cherished, never

lightly regarded. The time to enjoy them is in youth; no other time is so opportune. If neglected then, they are reasonably certain to remain forever unimproved. Few men or women ever acquire an education after they are twenty-five years of age. There are, of course, exceptions, but the exceptions are so rare that they but enforce the rule, and are only noted in men and women of exceptional character and great mental endowments. It is said that no man learns to spell after he is forty, and that only a limited few learn to read or write when beyond that age. The rudiments must be acquired when we are young, or they are never acquired; this is the common experience of mankind. There is no time for study when the active, busy, struggling period in every man's life sets in. The fight for bread and butter shuts out all inclination for it. Our daily round of duties commands our time and faculties, often to the exclusion of even current reading, and always of hard mental labor and close thought. We have no time to waste in this short, hurrying life. The early years are the golden ones for preparation; not a moment should be squandered. It might be otherwise could we realize the sentiment of the old rhyme:

Could a man be secure
That his days would endure
As of old, for a thousand long years—
What things might he know,
What deeds might he do,
What reap and what sow,
And all without hurry and care!

But it is otherwise ordained; "our brief span" admits of no idleness, no loitering by the way. The to-morrows are too full to be crowded with the yesterdays. We must move on and forward. We must learn that every day is

a new day, with its own distinctive and commanding duties, and can not atone for the yesterdays unimproved. To-morrow's tent must be pitched in new fields; to-morrow's thought in advance of yesterday's. We must keep up, or be crowded out. I congratulate you most heartily upon the grand opportunities to which you are invited and the matchless age in which you live. I enjoin you to improve the one and appreciate the responsibilities and inspiration of the other. Never country had such a fortune, as men speak of fortune, as this—in its resources, its history and majestic possibilities. Make every effort to put yourself in the line of your country's possibilities. Make every sacrifice to embrace the advantages so freely afforded you by the State, and in after life you will not account them as sacrifices, but turn to them as genuine blessings; for they will spare you many conflicts, many blunders, many heart-burnings, and remove many hindrances in your onward path.

You can afford to appear here in any department, from the primary to the high school, poorly dressed, if your necessities require it. You can face the sharp and sometimes humiliating contrast with your more fortunate and better-dressed classmate, for be assured that attention to your studies, thought and industry in your work, and a hearty realization of your advantages and duties, will remove these differences in a few years. With your growth and progress, your patched and shabby clothes will be wholly forgotton, or if recollected, remembered only to your honor, and your independence will stand as an example worthy of emulation by the struggling boys who are to follow you. The poor and shabbily clad boy, with clean face and clear head, seeking and appreciating the advantages of the public school, will win his way

against all opposition. His future is assured. The want of the time is manly men, men of character, culture and courage, of faith and sincerity; the exalted manhood which forges its way to the front by force of its own merits. Self-earned stations are the best and most secure; self-earned reputations the most lasting. What you have fairly acquired by your own brain and conscience and mind belongs to you. It is your throne, from which you cannot be misplaced; your scepter, which you alone have the right to wield. It is your priceless possession. A man may get rich in a day or an hour by the quick turn of fortunate speculation, but the only wealth which lasts and wears is that which builds steadily up through honesty, industry and sacrifice.

Another address, somewhat of a different character, but in a large measure bearing on education, was that delivered July 18, 1893, upon the occasion of the silver jubilee of the Jewish Orphan Asylum of Cleveland, at Saengerfest Hall. In this address he touched more upon the necessity of higher education for the youth of the country. It is not improbable that McKinley may have felt during his career the need of that thorough classical training from which he was precluded, partly on account of the inability of his parents to defray the expenses of a long course, and partly on account of his own desire to take an active part in the war. Among other things he said:

The young men and young women who succeed now-a-days must succeed because of superior knowledge. This is an age of exactness. What you know you must know well and thoroughly, and to reach prominence you

must know it better than anybody else. It will not do to know a thing half any longer. You must know it all, and the man who knows a few things—worthy things, I mean, in science or art or mechanics or business—better than those around him, is the man who will succeed.

And the only way to acquire knowledge is to labor There is no substitute for it. The best time to get it is when you are young. Proxies are not recognized either in the intellectual or business conflicts of the present day. To use a homely but expressive phrase, "You must hoe your own row."

Don't try to master too many things. A few things of which you are thoroughly master give you better equipment for life's struggles than a whole arsenal of half-mastered and half-matured things.

This is the soundest kind of advice for young people, whether they are able to secure for themselves a college or university training or not. Certainly McKinley himself is an illustration of the great success a man can make by doing what he undertakes thoroughly, and not undertaking too many things. While it has been shown in this volume that McKinley has a broad grasp on all public questions likely to come up for consideration, his superior knowledge of matters relating to the public revenue has given him his great prominence. Referring to the Jewish race, McKinley said, in this same address:

You belong to a great race and a great age, and you are citizens of the greatest country on the face of the earth. Every opportunity is open to you as it is to me, and to every citizen as they have never been opened in

any other quarter of the globe. Here is absolute equality of opportunity and of advantage, and those who can win must do so by force and their own merit; and here what you win you can wear.

The Jewish people have for centuries been conspicuous in almost every department of life. In music they have taken the highest rank as composers and performers. Mendelssohn, Rubenstein and Joachim have few equals. As actors, they had Rachael and Bernhardt, and a long list beside who have been recognized as stars the world over. Among the philosophers is to be named the great Spinoza; in medicine, Franke; in Greek literature, Bernays; while Benfrey was the first of Sanscrit scholars; Ricardo, conspicuous in political economy, and Sir Moses Montefiore, the great philanthropist, who died full of honors, a century old, whose memory is cherished the world over. His intellectual and physical faculties were marvelous. He retained his mental faculties until the last. After he was eighty years old, in the interest of his race and humanity, he made four great journeys—two to Jerusalem, one to Roumania, and one to Russia. He was always doing good.

I observe from your souvenir that here in this institution you sacredly observe his memory. He was broad-minded, not bigoted, loving his race and believing in it, and yet helping Gentile as well as Jew. He contributed to build Protestant churches and found hospitals for the Turk and the Catholic, and assisted in every way to the elevation of all races and all colors of men.

In statesmanship, Lasker and Gambetta and Disraeli stand out as the commanding figures. The story of Disraeli's first speech demonstrates his pluck and persistency, his faith in himself and his race. He ventured on one

occasion, when new in Parliament, to call the great Daniel O'Connell to account, then at the very summit of his fame. The learned parliamentarian sneered at the interruption and stared at Disraeli with insolence, while the whole house joined in mockery at what they called the young upstart. Disraeli raised his voice above the confusion and, shaking his thin hand at the hostile house, cried out: "The time will come when you will be glad to hear me," and that time came.

This is an interesting field in which I have entered, but the time allotted to me demands that I no longer tarry here. George Eliot, writing a few years ago about the Jewish race and as indicating the rank they had already taken, said: "At this moment the leader of the Liberal party in Germany is a Jew; the leader of the Republican party in France is a Jew, and the leader of the Conservative party in England is a Jew." Our own country can furnish a long list of useful and conspicuous men of your race—merchants and bankers, philanthropists and patriots, physicians and lawyers, authors and orators and editors, teachers and preachers—all of them furnishing the young people of this Jewish orphan asylum worthy models to excite their ambition to become worthy successors.

The last important address by McKinley on education was at the reunion or commencement exercises of the Northwestern University of Chicago, June 13, 1895. Speaking at this time particularly of university education, he said:

The beginning of education is the home and the greatest advantage of the American system of instruction is largely due to the elevated influences of the happy and

prosperous homes of our people. There is the foundation of the most important part of education; if the home life is pure, sincere and good, the child is usually well prepared to receive all the advantages and inspirations of more advanced education. The American home where honesty, sobriety and truth preside, and a simple, every-day virtue without pomp and ostentation is practiced, is the nursery of all true educations. Out of such homes usually come the men and women who make our citizenship pure and elevated, and the State and the Nation long and enduring. John Milton spoke words of wisdom more than three centuries ago when he said: "To make the people fittest to choose and the chosen fittest to govern will be to mend our faulty education.

The value of university education can not be overestimated. Its support can not be too generous nor too earnest upon the part of our people, and after, all the hope of the Republic, its safety and security, and the strength and prosperity of public government, must rest upon the great public school system now happily and firmly established throughout the United States. Nothing can take its place, and fortunately the public school is everywhere becoming the vestibule to the university. As the curriculum of the free school is advancing, the tie between the fundamental and advanced education is closer and stronger, and is more clearly recognized and appreciated everywhere. Continuing, McKinley says:

We cannot have too much education if it be of the right kind, and if it be rightly applied it is of inestimable value to the citizen in every walk and branch of life.

Young man and young woman, what your education will be and do for you depends upon yourselves. The chief difference in men in school or out is the amount of work they do. No measure of genius, so-called, will take the place of well-directed hard work in any and every calling of life. There is no royal road to learning, no substitute yet discovered for industry. You have seen, as we all have seen, the most brilliant man overtaken in the race by one known in the class-room for indifferent ability, but always the plodder, pushing on and on in the face of inherent disadvantages to the successful realization of a high and determined purpose.

Referring, however, in a latter part of this address, to those who have made great names for themselves without a college education, McKinley spoke thus of Lincoln:

No college can make you great, no university can make you successful. These achievements, and it is the common experience of mankind, depend upon yourself. The secret of getting on is to keep always moving toward a cherished object. The way-train may have the same running schedule as the through train, but the latter reaches its destination first because it makes fewer stops and it keeps going. Exertion is the secret of success in life. Mr. Lincoln represents a well-known type, one of the best types of the patriotic, self-reliant American. He was not a university man and yet not an uneducated man. He was not without great learning, but educated himself in the school of experience by the severe discipline of rigid application and patient investigation. With such facilities as you enjoy and his determination, what might not be expected of a college man of to-day?

In concluding this address, he urged upon his hearers the necessity of a citizenship worthy of the great Republic, and pointed out that this had been due in a large measure to the effectiveness of the higher schools and colleges. His words were eloquent and to the point:

But we must not forget that the whole aim and object of education is to elevate the standard of citizenship. The uplifting of our schools will result in a higher and better tone in business and professional life. Old methods and standards may be good, but they must advance with the new needs and problems of the age. The methods of the eighteenth century will not suffice for the twentieth any more than the pack horse could meet the demands of the great freight traffic of to-day. This age demands an education which will not lack in any degree the inestimable advantages of high and intellectual culture, which will best befit the man and the woman for the calling in which he or she have placed themselves. Never forget that the moral element must not be omitted. Christian character is the foundation upon which we must build if our citizenship is to be lifted up, and our institutions are to endure. Our obligations for the splendid advantages we enjoy should not rest upon us too lightly. We owe to our country, we owe to our commonwealth much. We must give in return for these matchless educational opportunities the best work, the best achievements and the best results in our own lives. Unless we make our citizenship worthy of the great Republic, intelligent, patriotic and self-sacrificing, all our institutions will fail in their high purpose and our civilization will inevitably decline. Our hope

is in the public school and the university. Let us fervently pray that they may always be as generously supported, and that those who go out from them, go out from these walls, go out from kindred institutions, shall be themselves the best witnesses of their force and virtue in popular government.

That McKinley has comprehensive views on the vast educational system of the country his public utterances certainly indicate. There is nothing sectarian, nothing narrow, about his views on this important subject.

CHAPTER XXXI.

VIEWS ON RELIGION.

McKinley a Religious Man—Believes Religion a Potent Force for Good—Keep Your Heart Pure—No President from Washington to the Present Time Who Publicly Avowed Infidelity or Scoffed at the Faith of the Masses—Religion Makes a Higher Grade of Citizenship.

WILLIAM McKINLEY is not only a sincere and earnest man, but a religious man. He is a member of the Methodist church. This religious spirit has helped him a great deal in his career. He is one of those who believe that religion is the strongest, most lasting and most vivacious of all the powers in our world; that it is imbedded firm as a rock in the institutions of the Republic. If we glance at the facts for a moment, this view of religion is borne out.

There are in the United States 143 distinct denominations, besides independent Lutheran and unassociated Baptist churches and independent miscellaneous congregations. There are over twenty millions actually communicants, and the united sitting capacity of churches, halls and school-houses used for religious purposes exceeds 46,000,000. There are probably not less than 120,000 regular ministers, not

including lay preachers, preaching the Word of God in the myriad churches and school-houses of the land.

Surely religion is potent in this land, where the home, the school-house and the church lie at the foundation of the Government and combined form the most powerful, the most enduring, the most hopeful forces for the continuation and upbuilding of the Republic. It is said we are a practical people, that we care more for railroads and bridges and canals and factories and mills and tall buildings than we do for art and letters and music and the higher sentiments of life. This is not true when applied to religious sentiment, for no nation on earth has put such vast sums of money into religious edifices and church possessions as we have in a century—the largest part of it in the last forty years.

In a speech that was full of that admirable, earnest eloquence for which McKinley is famous, delivered at the dedication of the Y. M. C. A. building at Youngstown, Ohio, September 6, 1892, he said:

> It is a good omen for our civilization and country when these associations can be successfully planted as a part of the system of permanent education for the improvement and elevation of the masses; it is another step upward and onward to a higher and grander Christian civilization. It is another recognition of the Master who rules over all, a worthy tribute to Him who came on earth to save fallen man and lead him to a higher plane. It is an expression of your faith in an overruling Providence, and strengthens the faith of every believer. You

have been made better by the gifts you have bestowed upon this now completed undertaking; you have the approval of not only your own conscience, but you have the gratitude of the present generation, and you will have, in all time to come, the blessings of those who are to be the future beneficiaries of this institution. Respect for true religion and righteous living is on the increase. Men no longer feel constrained to conceal their faith to avoid derision. The religious believer commands and receives the highest consideration at the hands of his neighbors and countrymen, however much they may disagree with him; and when his life is made to conform to his religious professions, his influence is almost without limitation, wide-spread and far-reaching.

No man gets on so well in this world as he whose daily walk and conversation are clean and consistent, whose heart is pure and whose life is honorable. A religious spirit helps every man. It is at once a comfort and an inspiration, and makes him stronger, wiser and better in every relation of life. There is no substitute for it. It may be assailed by its enemies, as it has been, but they offer nothing in its place. It has stood the test of centuries and has never failed to help and bless mankind. It is stronger to-day than at any previous period of its history, and every event like this you celebrate increases its permanency and power. The world has use for the young man who is well grounded in principle, who has reverence for truth and religion, and courageously follows their teachings. Employment awaits his coming and honor crowns his path. More than all this, conscious of rectitude, he meets the cares of life with courage; the duties which confront him he discharges with manly honesty. These associations elevate and purify

our citizenship, and establish more firmly the foundations of our free institutions. The men who established this Government had faith in God and sublimely trusted in Him. They besought His counsel and advice in every step of their progress. And so it has been ever since; American history abounds in instances of this trait of piety, this sincere reliance on a Higher Power in all great trials in our National affairs. Our rulers may not always be observers of the outward forms of religion, but we have never had a President, from Washington to Harrison, who publicly avowed infidelity, or scoffed at the faith of the masses of our people.

These are inspiring words for the youth of the country. The Eleventh Census shows that the value of Church property in 1890 was nearly $700,000,000. To-day it is safe to assume that the churches of the United States represent this enormous sum—an amount equivalent to twice the capital invested in the manufacture of clothing; to three times the capital invested in furnishing flour; to nearly twice the capital used in the production of iron and steel; a sum equivalent to the aggregate combined capital invested in the manufacture of liquor, woolen goods, boots and shoes, and carriages and wagons—a sum so vast that if invested in the manufacture of boots and shoes, bread-baking, brick-making, carpentering, car-building, clothing, dressmaking, furniture and the manufacture of hats, would have paid in wages in 1890 the stupendous sum of $498,000,000, sufficient to employ eight or nine hundred thousand persons in the particular industries named. Had

this capital been invested in these industries instead of in ecclesiastical edifices and church property, the annual amount paid out in wages would have been equivalent to half the amount paid in wages for all manufacturing industries in 1880, and over one-fifth of the amount thus expended, according to the census of 1890. Religion is indeed a vital force.

In an address before the General Synod of the Lutheran Church at Canton, Ohio, May 27, 1893, McKinley read the following words of Washington, and endorsed them as a safe guide for the Nation:

It would be peculiarly improper to omit in this first official act, my fervent supplication to that Almighty Father who rules over the universe, who presides in the councils of nations, and whose providential aids can supply every human defect, that His benediction may be secured to the liberties and happiness of the people of the United States and the Government instituted by themselves, and may enable every instrument employed in its administration to execute with success the functions allotted to its charge. In tendering this homage to the great Author of every public and private good, I assure myself that it expresses your sentiments not less than my own, nor those of my fellow-citizens at large less than either. No people can be bound to acknowledge and adore the invisible hand which conducts the affairs of man more than the people of the United States. Every step by which they have advanced to the character of an independent nation seems to have been distinguished by some token of providential agency. In the important revolution just accomplished, in the system of their united government, the tranquil deliberations and voluntary consent of so

many distinct communities from which the event has resulted, can not be compared with the means by which most governments have been established, without some return of pious gratitude, along with an humble anticipation of the future blessings which the past seems to presage. These reflections arising out of the present crisis have forced themselves too strongly on my mind to be suppressed. You will join with me, I trust, in thinking that there are none under the influence of which the proceedings of a new and free government can more auspiciously commence.

Speaking before the Epworth League, in Cleveland, June 30, 1893, he paid this high and deserved tribute to the Epworth League:

I am glad and honored to welcome you to the State of Ohio. A return to birthplace is always interesting, and this was the birthplace of the Epworth League. It excites the tenderest emotions and sentiments of the human heart, and recalls the sweetest memories and associations. Such a visit is suggestive of retrospection and introspection, and, if the intervening years have been successful, of congratulation and felicitation. You could have had no better State in which to be born than Ohio, and no better place in Ohio than the city of Cleveland. We are proud of the fact that the Epworth League started here, and rejoice in its marvelous success, and affectionately welcome the daughter to her home and to our hearts. We share in the pride which the Christian world feels over the great achievements already recorded and of the certain promise of still greater honors yet to be recorded. The purpose of your organization is worthy of the highest commendation. However we may differ in our relig-

ious beliefs, your aims command the approval of those who respect good conscience and value good character. The League seeks to build up the moral nature and promote the intellectual culture of the youth of the land. It looks after the heart and head of the young people, and neglects neither. It is calculated to secure well-rounded manhood and womanhood. It provides moral and mental equipment. It engages the mind with useful and elevating thoughts. It unites righteousness and reason, piety and patriotism, and gives strength and purity to the Church and to the institutions of the country. It enlists the youth and strength, the spirit and courage of one of the great religious denominations of the world, and turns them into a well-disciplined army, to battle for the noblest cause in which mankind ever engaged—the cause of the Master and the man. It keeps young manhood pure and saves it before evil associations have darkened its life. It appeals to the nobler instincts of our nature, and it promotes by its uplifting hand the best development and contributes to the highest destiny of the race.

On a still more recent occasion, July 13, 1894, at the greatest convention the Society of Christian Endeavor ever held, McKinley delivered an oration which shows not only his deep religious convictions, but his broadness of mind. In opening, he said:

It is a mighty cause that would convene in any city of any State of the Union the splendid assemblages of people gathering in so many places this morning in this city by the lake. No cause but one could have brought together these noble, earnest people, and that is the cause of the Master and the cause of man. It is fitting that the largest convention of Christian Endeavorers

ever held should be in the State of Ohio. I bring you the welcome of the State which you have honored with your presence, a State, the opening words of whose Constitution make grateful acknowledgment to Almighty God for our freedom; and it declares that religion, morality and knowledge are essential to good government; and the law-making powers shall therefore protect every religious denomination in the peaceful enjoyment of its own mode of public worship, and encourage schools and means of education.

These few extracts certainly show the religious bent of McKinley's mind. It is in keeping with the rest of the character of this serious and patriotic statesman. While himself a member of the Methodist church, his religion is broad enough to include all the Christian sects, and reach out to that broader humanity which he describes so eloquently in his speeches.

CHAPTER XXXII.

McKINLEY AS GOVERNOR.

An Administration Without Red Tape—A Wise and Prudential Executive—Messages Plain Business Documents—Successful Management of Charitable Institutions—Legislation for Protection and Comfort of Workingmen—Passage of Arbitration Law—Faculty for Settling Strikes—A Friend and Advocate of Labor.

AS in his private life, so William McKinley's administration as Governor of Ohio has been conspicuous for unostentatiousness and simplicity. Visitors to the executive office have frequently observed the absence of red tape and the easiness of approach to the Governor.

McKinley's policy, as chief executive of Ohio, has been conservative. The opening paragraph of his first inaugural address was as follows:

I approach the administration of the office with which I have been clothed by the people deeply sensible of its responsibilities, and resolved to discharge its duties to the best of my ability. It is my desire to co-operate with you in every endeavor to secure a wise, economical and honorable administration, and, so far as can be done, the improvement and elevation of the public service.

This indicated the policy of his administration,

and during the four years of his term he has steadily followed the lines above mapped out. He has aimed to give to the public institutions the benefit of the services of the best men of the State; and while there has never been any question as to his stalwart Republicanism, yet he has always tried to prevent inefficiency and demoralization in the management of the State institutions through the introduction of extreme partisanship. At the inception of his administration he realized the tendency to extravagance in public administration, and he advocated economy from the start, and insisted upon it all through the four years of his term, yet he approved of liberal appropriations for necessities, and he has never believed in a stinted provision for the care of the helpless and unfortunate wards of the State.

There is official and impartial testimony to the high state of efficiency of the benevolent institutions of Ohio under McKinley's administration. Integrity in public officials has ever been one of his cardinal doctrines; and on proof being made clear to him of dishonesty on the part of any of his appointees, he has not hesitated officially to decapitate them. Believing that a good official record is the best basis for popular approval, he has never attempted as Governor to build up a personal or factional "machine." No Governor has ever had the esteem and affection of his State official colleagues more than has McKinley. In his dealings with the General Assembly he has always been careful to observe the Constitutional distinction between the executive and legislative

branches of the State government, yet he has endeavored to keep "in touch" with the members of the Legislature, and has been glad to confer with them on matters of public interest.

His relations with the boards of trustees of the various State institutions, and with the appointive heads of departments, have been pleasant and considerate. He has liked to talk over with them as to the general policy of administration, and at proper times he has not hesitated to make suggestions; but he has held responsible those who by law were given authority over the various departments of the State government; he has trusted them and has allowed them a wide sphere of liberty of opinion; and he has never thought it beneath his dignity even to yield his own judgment to the judgment of his appointees when it was manifest that the good of the service was aimed at by the appointees. He has always conceded that matters of detail should be left to those who were best competent to judge.

McKinley's messages to the Legislature have been plain business documents relating solely to State affairs. The first inaugural address, delivered January 11, 1892, was somewhat of a surprise to those who had thought that McKinley's knowledge was restricted to matters of National import. This first inaugural address demonstrated that he had due appreciation of the material progress of his State so far as it could be influenced by legislation. He earnestly advocated legislation for the improvement of country roads. In that address, as well as in sev-

eral others, he strongly urged the conservation and development of the canals of the State.

McKinley had himself been the victim of unfair "gerrymanders"—conspicuously so in 1890, when, by his own popularity and strength of canvass, he cut down a normal Democratic plurality of 3,000 to 300. In his first inaugural address he expressed his views upon the subject of "gerrymandering" as follows:

You will be required under the new census to redistrict the State for Representatives in Congress. This will afford you an opportunity to arrange the districts with fairness to all. Make the districts so fair in their relation to the political divisions of our people that they will stand until a new census shall be taken. Make them so impartial that no future Legislature will dare disturb them until a new census and a new Congressional apportionment will make a change imperative. Extreme partisanship in their arrangement should be avoided. There is a sense of fair play among the people which is prompt to condemn a flagrant misuse of party advantage at the expense of popular suffrage. Partisanship is not to be discouraged, but encouraged in all things where principle is at stake; but a partisanship which would take from the people their just representation, in the case of the Congressional redistricting by the last Legislature, is an abuse of power which the people are swift to rebuke. You must have observed from the returns of the late election that the party which carried the State by a plurality of more than twenty-one thousand and which received a plurality in fifty-one counties of the eighty-eight in Ohio, carried but seven Congressional Districts

of the twenty-one—the minority party thus controlling two-thirds of the Congressional Districts, and the majority party only one-third. It will be your duty to re-enfranchise the citizens of Ohio who were disfranchised by the last legislative "gerrymander," and to restore to the people their rightful voice in the National House of Representatives. Free suffrage is of little service to the citizen if its force be defeated by legislative machinations in the form of a "gerrymander." The districts should be made so as to give the party majority in a State a majority of Representatives in the National House of Representatives, and so arranged that if the party majority shall change, the Representative majority shall also change.

One of the greatest problems in Ohio is that of taxation. In his messages of 1892, 1893 and 1894, he drew the attention of the Legislature to this matter and urged that a remedy be applied. His messages of 1893 and 1894 show that he had given earnest consideration to the question of municipal government. He commendably drew attention to the Federal plan of government, and yet he remarked "that no system, however perfect in ideal, can be satisfactory or meet public expectation, if those who are entrusted with its execution are not capable and honest. The trouble is more frequently with those who administer the government of cities than with the structure of the government itself."

In his message of 1894 he called attention to a growing evil not only in Ohio but in other States—that of recklessness in authorizing local indebtedness.

He urged that local and special legislation should be avoided as far as possible, and laid down the rule that "the creation of local indebtedness of counties and municipalities should not be authorized by the General Assembly without submission to the people, except for great emergency."

McKinley is one of those who believe that legislation can be over-done in quantity. In his message of 1894, he remarked that "a short session and but little legislation would be appreciated at a time like this." It was largely because of his recommendation to the General Assembly of 1894 and his public attitude upon that question, that the Legislature in that year adopted a resolution to return to the intent of the Constitution as to biennial sessions. The Republican State Convention of 1893 adopted a resolution in favor of biennial sessions. The experience of biennial sessions in 1894-1895 was so satisfactory that the Republican State Convention of 1895 reaffirmed its declaration of 1893.

McKinley has always been in favor of legislation for the protection of workingmen in hazardous occupations, and of procuring for them such considerate treatment as of right belonged to them, and which could be secured by enactment. In 1892 he recommended legislation for the safety and comfort of steam railroad employes; and in 1893 he repeated that recommendation, and specifically urged the furnishing of automatic couplers and air-brakes for all railroad cars used in the State. In the same year he drew attention to the wonderful development of

street railways and the application of electricity thereto, and urged that legislative requirements should be made looking to the safety of employes and the traveling public. He particularly recommended that the Legislature should require that all street cars should be furnished with "vestibules" to protect the motormen and conductors from the severe weather to which they are exposed; and in pursuance of this recommendation the Legislature of Ohio passed such a law.

It would be expected that one who has devoted so much time to study and effort to ameliorate the conditions of labor and promote useful industries in this country, as has McKinley, would take a deep interest in the question of the best means of settling and of preventing "labor troubles." And such is the fact. Few, perhaps, have given this subject more thorough investigation and consideration.

The question, of course, with him has been: What can the State do to prevent or reduce to a minimum the evils of these troubles? Years ago he became convinced that just here was a field for useful legislation on lines of authorized and favored, rather than compulsory arbitration. A warm advocate of arbitration as the most enlightened and rational means of composing international disputes, he saw no good reason why the principle might not be applied in the lesser controversies of men, and he has embraced every suitable opportunity to impress and give effect to these views.

On April 2, 1886, when the O'Neill bill for the

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settlement of controversies between inter-state common carriers and their employes by arbitral measures was before the National House of Representatives, he said in a speech of great cogency in support of the measure:

I believe in the principle and tendency of the bill. It confers no rights or privileges touching arbitration which are not now enjoyed by common carriers and those engaged in their service. It leaves them where it finds them, with the right of voluntary arbitration to settle their differences through a peaceful, orderly tribunal of their own selection. It only follows the principle recognized in many States of the Union, notably in Ohio and Massachusetts, and gives National sanction and encouragement to a mode of settlement of grievances between employer and employe which is approved by the best judgment of the country and the enlightened sentiment of all civilized people. While the bill does not compel arbitration, its passage here will not be without influence as a legislative suggestion in commending the principle to both capital and labor as the best and most economic way of composing differences and settling disagreements, which experience has uniformly shown, in the absence of an amicable adjustment, results in loss to all classes of the community, and to none more than to the workingmen themselves. If by the passage of this simple measure arbitration as a system shall be aided to the slightest extent or advanced in private and public favor, or if it shall serve to attract the thoughtful attention of the people to the subject, much will have been accomplished for the good order of our communities and for the welfare and prosperity of the people.

After warning against too great reliance on the efficacy of the measure to prevent strikes, etc., he proceeds:

It simply proves that when the railroad companies operating through two or more States or Territories and their employes shall agree upon and consent to an arbitration, this bill will aid, encourage and assist the parties concerned to get at the truth, to probe to the bottom, ascertain the facts of the situation, by which the Board will be enabled to act intelligently and justly to all interests involved.

He combated the claim that arbitral awards would be ineffective because wanting authority to enforce them. He said:

I have the least concern on that score. We need borrow no trouble on that account. Refusal to obey the judgment of the arbitration would be the exception and not the rule, and an award honestly reached would be sacredly observed. Nor am I troubled because there is no compulsion to arbitrate in the first instance. Either party provided for in the bill, believing it has a genuine grievance and inviting the other to arbitrate, will occupy a vantage ground which the other can not long successfully defy. There is a sense of fair play among the people which, when crystallized into public judgment, is as potent—aye, more potent—than statute or judicial decree. No railroad corporation, no labor union, no body of laboring men could long hold out against a fair and equitable demand, backed by a willingness to submit the justice of that demand to a board of competent arbitrators.

He commended that feature of the bill as of "great practical value" which provided for the payment of the expenses of arbitration out of the public treasury:

"It places both parties," he said, "upon an equality in pursuing the investigation. A lack of means upon the one hand or the other will not impair the fullest consideration. The humblest and poorest can send for persons and papers without incurring an expense which very often they can illy bear."

Alluding to that provision authorizing the publication of the report after arbitration in case of continued disagreement, he said:

The great public is put in possession of the grievances and can judge who is right and who is wrong; and the public judgment, whatever it may be, upon the one side or the other, will be more forceful, more commanding, more certain of considerate attention, than any penalty we could impose by legislative enactment.

He closed this not lengthy, but effective speech—the bill passed the House the same day, as follows:

I believe, Mr. Chairman, in arbitration as a principle. I believe it should prevail in the settlement of international differences. It represents a higher civilization than the arbitrament of war. I believe it is in close accord with the best thought and sentiment of mankind; I believe it is the true way of settling the differences between labor and capital; I believe it will bring both to a better understanding, uniting them closer in interests, and promoting better relations, avoiding force, avoiding unjust exactions and oppression, avoiding loss of earnings

to labor, avoiding disturbances to trade and transportation; and if this House can contribute in the smallest measure, by legislative expression or otherwise, to these ends, it will deserve and receive the gratitude of all men who love peace, good order, justice and fair play.

The bill as it was presented was not in all respects in accord with his views, but it was amended more nearly to conform therewith, and the speech should be taken as in support of the principle of the bill, rather than its details.

The features that should distinguish an arbitration statute in the then and still undeveloped and tentative state of the law on the subject, are clearly foreshadowed by it. They may be indicated as follows:

1. Arbitration should be authorized and favored—not compelled, and should be free of expense to the parties.

2. The parties themselves should retain the right of selecting their own arbitrators, if they so desire.

3. Awards of arbitration should rest for their sanction upon their own manifest justice and merits. This, of course, would not apply where the parties covenant in advance for other means of enforcement.

4. Investigations into causes of strikes, etc., when made, should be thorough and impartial; and where disagreements continue after awards or investigations, the facts should be laid before the public.

During his first term as Governor of Ohio, and as a feature of his administration, the law was passed creating the State Board of Arbitration. This law is substantially a transcript of the Massachusetts statute, which is the pioneer among the States of this order of legislation. It is worthy of note in this connection that the enactment of the present law of Massachusetts occurred two months after the delivery of McKinley's speech in Congress elucidating the principles which should underlie arbitration; and further, that fifteen States have followed with like legislation, Ohio being the third.

It embraced substantially the features above named, and it was amended and improved during his second term. He has watched the operation of the law with zealous care, frequently consulting and advising with the members of the Board in cases under consideration.

The State Board, under the law, has cognizance of controversies between employers and employes where the latter number not less than twenty-five in the same line of employment. Since its organization in 1893 (made non-partisan, though not so required by statute) it has had to deal with twenty-eight strikes, involving from thirty to upwards of two thousand employes each. Fifteen of these have been settled through the interposition of the Board, and the remainder by the parties themselves. There have been other cases of threatened strikes coming under its jurisdiction which have received its attention.

In no instance where the parties to a controversy

have agreed to abide by the award of the Board have they failed to do so; and in but one instance where an investigation was made in which both parties participated has there been a refusal so to abide, and there the party refusing participated in the investigation under protest. The experience of this Board thus supports the view of McKinley, expressed ten years ago, that awards should be respected and lived up to.

There is another fact to be noted in this connection as vindicating his view that arbitration makes for peace and good order. Neither the militia nor the police have been called out on account of any strike or dispute with which the Board has had anything to do. There has been no breach of the peace or malicious destruction of property growing out of such; although feeling had run so high and animosities had grown so strong in some instances that the Board found, on appearing at the scenes of controversy, much apprehension of outbreaks. In two instances at least, applications had been made to the Governor for force to prevent them.

But the Board has experienced no difficulty on this score. The fact of it being regarded as a peaceful agency of, and representing the State, exerted a restraining and wholesome influence.

McKinley never failed to recommend visiting delegations from these disputants (and they have not been uncommon from both sides) to arbitrate their differences when unable to settle them themselves, nor to point out that the State had provided ample means

speedily to adjust them on the basis of justice and reason, unless indeed they were ready to maintain that such adjustment was not attainable by a tribunal of their own selection (if they objected to that provided by the State) with power to develop every fact bearing on the questions at issue. This logic was irresistible. In some instances long-continued strikes were thus brought to an end. In the miners' strike in the Massillon district, where every effort at settlement had failed, and hope of reaching one had about departed, he, by the aid of the State Board, brought the parties together in arbitration, when each had looked upon such a solution as out of the question, though the miners had desired it. Here about twenty-five mines and upwards of two thousand mine-workers had been idle for eight months. The loss of earnings, wages and business consequent upon this strike has been estimated at $1,000,000. Yet there was no violence, no breach of the peace, no malicious destruction of property, no cost to the State.

In the summer of 1894 an employer of a great number of men then on a strike called on the Governor and inquired what he would do about ordering out the militia in a certain contingency then thought to be imminent. "It is needless," he answered, "to ask what a public officer in Ohio will do. He does his duty. The practical question is what can you do, and what will your employes do, what can we all do properly to divert the necessity of using force? That is the question for immediate solution, at which

I have been engaged for some days." That day at noon, July 17, 1894, there was a meeting at the Governor's office, convened at his instance, and at which he presided, of the employer, the State Board of Arbitration (which had been on the ground for some days as co-laborers in the cause of settlement) and delegations of citizens and business men concerned. Before McKinley retired to rest that night he received a dispatch from the State Board of Arbitration at Nelsonville, the headquarters of the strikers, announcing the end of the great A. R. U. strike on the Hocking Valley Railway. This occurred without expense to the State and without even as much as an assault to disturb the public peace.

By dawn on the 18th, the thousands of freight-laden cars that had stood on switches for three weeks, the numerous coal mines stopped through sympathy for the strikers or for want of transportation facilities, and the four thousand men who had been forced to idleness, began to stir, and in less than twenty-four hours all were in motion and at work with their wonted activity. The valleys and hills of the Hocking and yards and docks of the company, which during this period had been still and lifeless, now resounded with the hum of industry.

McKinley has been so retiring and unobtrusive in all these settlements that his activity has scarcely been observed by the public. He takes no credit of them to himself, but is free to bestow it upon others, especially of the parties themselves who have co-operated.

Under his administration, the cause of arbitration has so advanced that there is no longer apprehension of labor riots in Ohio. It has come to be regarded as pretty well settled that differences between employers and employes will be adjusted by peaceable means, either by the parties themselves or by arbitral measures.

From this brief epitome it will readily be perceived that of all our public men, William McKinley easily stands in the front as the friend and advocate of arbitration.

CHAPTER XXXIII.

JUSTICE AND MERCY.

McKinley's Love of Peace Never Interfered With Upholding Law and Order—Troubles in the Mining Districts—McKinley's Military Experience Valuable—Washington Court House and Tiffin Riots—Relieving the Distress Among the Miners—Quick Night Work.

McKINLEY'S nature is permeated with the love of peace. His counsels, his admonitions and his advice are for peaceful settlements of disputes, whether public or private. Through his efforts Ohio has perhaps the best arbitration law to be found in the country, by which hundreds of strikes and labor difficulties have been settled peacefully and without loss of time and money to either labor or capital. He believes that all means for a peaceful solution of whatever difficulty arises ought to be exhausted before all effort in that direction is given up.

Yet with all his natural gentleness and love of peace, he believes no less in law and order, and he has had abundant opportunity of proving to the country what a tower of strength a courageous executive may be. At no time since the war has an Ohio Governor had so many difficult problems of this kind to solve. During 1894, the first year of McKinley's second term, no less than fifteen calls were made upon the State Gov-

ernment for military aid in upholding the law of the commonwealth. And the local authorities knew that all necessary aid would be forthcoming—there would be no faltering. An outbreak against the laws of the State and the good order of a community was enough—Ohio's Governor could be depended upon to act without delay in all cases. Yet he never acted in the spirit of the demagogue nor the subservient.

In the month of June, 1894, the great miners' strike, involving every mining district in Ohio, was the cause of many outbreaks among the turbulent element. A disposition was shown to stop trains upon the coal-carrying railroads, and otherwise to interfere with the property rights of those not engaged in the strike on either side. No sooner was this disposition manifest and a call made upon the State for help, than McKinley ordered out the several regiments of the Ohio National Guard. These troops were called into service one regiment at a time, until nearly every soldier in Ohio was on duty—3,600 in all. These citizen-soldiers were in active service about three weeks, and acquitted themselves in every particular. Their bearing was soldierly, their services valuable and valued, and they reflected great credit upon their Commander-in-chief.

McKinley took hold of the labor troubles with a vigor that served notice upon the whole country that he meant to uphold the dignity and the good name of the State as long as there was a soldier to obey his orders. The very spirit thus exhibited inspired

the troops, and indeed the whole State. What he did was at the right time and in the right way. He had been through four years of active service during the war, and he knew better than did the young men then in the coal valleys of the State what it was to march and to fight. The experience of the four years in the Virginias, coupled with the good sense of the man, prevented the mistakes that so often attend the efforts of well-meaning but inexperienced men in charge of important movements.

General James C. Howe, Adjutant General of Ohio, in his annual report to the Governor, in covering the period of the military operations during the strike, says:

> The complete success of the campaign was due largely to the close watchfulness and numerous suggestions received from you as Commander-in-chief. Knowing, as you did, the every move and condition of the troops, your care and attention reaching far into the early morning of every day—instructions and telegrams being received at as late an hour as three o'clock A. M.—urged forward those in the field, as you were certainly doing that imposed upon you.

For a period of sixteen days the Governor remained incessantly at his post, many of his orders to his officers being sent out in the hours long after midnight. Four in the morning came to be his regular hour for retiring. And while he was so regardless of his own health and comfort during those trying times, he was ever thoughtful of the health and

comfort of the men in the field. The Cleveland, Lorain & Wheeling Railroad Company announced that traffic would be suspended on its road on Sunday, June 10. Afterwards McKinley accidentally heard that this program had been changed, and he immediately sent the following order to General Howe:

COLUMBUS, O., June 10, 1894—11 : 40 A. M.

James C. Howe, Adjutant General, Wheeling Creek, via Bridgeport, O.:

What is the reason for change of purpose of C. L. & W. about running trains to-day? Rest to the Guard and their health are of the highest importance. This being Sunday, I hope its peace will not be broken. I would deeply regret to learn of any conflict being brought on to-day which was not necessary to the preservation of the peace and protection to property in aid of the civil authority.

WM. MCKINLEY, *Governor.*

Another outbreak, requiring the presence of the militia, was at Washington Court House, Fayette county, Ohio, in October, 1894. There was an outbreak among the people of that town, over the commission of a heinous crime. The criminal was apprehended in Delaware county, and was brought to Washington Court House for trial. The call for troops was made when the prisoner was first brought back to Fayette county. He was promptly indicted, tried and sentenced, and received the full limit of the law. Justice was swift and sure in this case, but this did not seem to satisfy the mob, the leaders of

which insisted upou lynching the prisoner. In the melee which followed, three people were killed. A court of inquiry was instituted to inquire into the conduct of Colonel Coit, who was in command of the military, and he was exonerated. McKinley gave this exoneration the most unequivocal endorsement. In the concluding portion of this endorsement the following characteristic language is used:

The law was upheld as it should have been, and, as I believe, it always will be in Ohio—but in this case at fearful cost. Much as the destruction of life which took place is deplored by all good citizens, and much as we sympathize with those who suffered in this most unfortunate affair, surely no friend of law and order can justly condemn the National Guard, under command of Colonel Coit, for having performed its duty fearlessly and faithfully, and in the face of great danger, for the peace and dignity and honor of the State.

Lynching cannot be tolerated in Ohio. The law of the State must be supreme over all, and the agents of the law, acting within the law, must be sustained.

The proceedings and findings of the court of inquiry have been carefully considered by me. I hereby announce my approval of the conclusions of said court, which find that Colonel Coit and his officers and enlisted men of the Fourteenth Infantry, O. N. G., acted with prudence and judgment and within the law, supporting the civil authority of Fayette county, and in the aid of it, and acting in pursuance of lawful orders, and that they performed their duty with singular fidelity, and that through them the majesty of the law and government by law was vindicated and sustained.

Again, in October, 1895, an attempt was made to lynch a prisoner who was in the custody of the Sheriff of Seneca county, of which Tiffin is the county-seat. The Sheriff and his deputies manfully stood by their posts. McKinley was appealed to for help, and with promptness that was almost startling, four companies from as many cities were dispatched to the scene of trouble.

Ohio's Governor had by this time shown the country that law and order would be upheld while he was in command. There would be no lynching, no rescuing of prisoners, no rioting, no bridge burnings, nor other crimes incident to turbulent times and frontier life, without the whole force of the commonwealth being put forward to prevent. The New York *Sun*, in a leading editorial shortly after the Tiffin incident, printed the following:

Honor to Governor McKinley of Ohio for his protection of a prisoner whose life was threatened by a mob of lynchers! As soon as he learned that the prison guards at Tiffin were not strong enough to hold their ground against the mob, and that there were but a few militiamen in the place at the call of the Sheriff, he sent orders by telegraph to Toledo, Sandusky, Fremont and Kenton, that militia companies be dispatched to Tiffin. Within a few hours a company from each of these places, or four companies in all, arrived there armed and equipped, and fully ready to try conclusions with the mob. The presence of this trained force at Tiffin, under command of an experienced officer, proved to be all that was necessary for the dispersal of the rioters and the prevention of the lynching.

It was but an act of duty, required for the preservation of the peace and the maintenance of the supremacy of the law of the State, that Governor McKinley performed; yet, when we think of the conduct of too many other Governors under similar circumstances, we make haste to come forward with praise for the Governor of Ohio.

Henceforward, a mob in any part of Ohio, got up to break jail for the purpose of lynching a prisoner, will know what they may expect, if they attempt to carry out their design so long as William McKinley is Governor of Ohio.

We are happy to say that there have been exceedingly few "lynching bees" in the great and law-abiding State of Ohio. We are able to recall but two or three of them in we can not say how many years. May the fate of the dead and wounded rioters at Tiffin live in memory as the last of them in the Buckeye State.

On January 7, 1895, the Trades Labor Union, comprising the Hocking Valley mining district, held a meeting in Nelsonville, the object of which was to effect an organization and formulate some plan for the relief of distress and destitution existing among the miners and their families.

The question as to how relief could be secured and through whom obtained, was discussed, which resulted in the appointment of a committee, who were authorized to wait upon McKinley, to present to him in behalf of the miners the memorial adopted by the meeting. On January 8, the committee, as directed, called upon McKinley, to whom a statement was made relative to the condition of the miners, and the

need of prompt relief. No definite action was taken at this conference, but McKinley suggested that the committee return to Nelsonville and request the Mayor to call a meeting of the citizens, to consider the question of relief, and when advised of their action he would take immediate steps toward carrying out their wishes.

A meeting of the citizens was called as requested, and the action of the previous meeting ratified and McKinley informed accordingly. On January 9, at 11:45 P. M., McKinley was aroused by a messenger with a dispatch from the chairman of the Relief Committee, which read as follows: "Immediate relief needed." Upon receipt of the message, McKinley dispatched messengers to the proprietor of a wholesale grocery, a dealer in vegetables, flour, etc., a transfer company and the officials of the Hocking Valley Railroad Company, to meet him immediately at his rooms. The object of the meeting was for the purchase of a car load of provisions and to arrange for the shipment early in the morning. The supplies were purchased and loaded in the car before 5 o'clock, A. M., and within nine hours after the receipt of the message the car load of provisions was in Nelsonville ready to be distributed to the hungry.

McKinley not only purchased the supplies, but also assumed the payment of the same. It was not his purpose to ask the people to provide for the payment of this car of provisions, amounting to nearly $1,000.00, but some of his friends learned that he

had assumed the obligation and they at once took the matter in hand and secured from State officers and heads of departments the larger proportion of the amount, which they turned over to him, this being added to his own liberal subscription, thus meeting the obligation assumed by him.

On January 14, the chairman of the General Committee wired McKinley that 1,763 miners were out of employment and great distress existed in the following places: Corning, Rendville, Jacksonville and Shawnee, where supplies would have to be sent immediately to prevent further suffering. Upon the receipt of the message, he authorized the purchase of provisions for each of the mining regions, with instructions to ship on first trains leaving Columbus. The prompt action taken doubtless prevented actual starvation.

On January 16, another appeal was made by the chairman for supplies for Nelsonville, Lathrop, Jacksonville, Shawnee, Rendville and other points. The calls for help continued almost daily from January 10 to April 4, the last shipment being made on the last named date.

McKinley appointed committees on the following dates, January 10, 14 and 18, to visit the mining districts to ascertain the real situation, that an intelligent distribution of supplies should be made.

On February 19, he addressed a communication to the Boards of Trade and Chamber of Commerce in the following cities: Cincinnati, Columbus, Cleveland and Toledo, requesting the appointment of com-

mittees to visit the mining districts, to make a thorough and complete investigation of the situation and report thereon.

During the progress of the relief work, on one occasion McKinley was called away from the city, but before leaving he gave positive instructions that in the event of appeals being made for help, to see that every demand made was met and not allow any one to go hungry. These instructions were adhered to, and the chairman of the General Committee reported at the close of the work that the promptness with which McKinley acted, and the liberal contributions made, prevented hunger and suffering.

On February 27, the chairman reported 2,723 miners out of employment, representing a population of at least 10,000. It will thus be seen that 2,732 miners and their families were made comfortable, which required the expenditure of $32,796.95.

CHAPTER XXXIV.

ABRAHAM LINCOLN.

The Story of Abraham Lincoln—McKinley's Oration on the Great War President—A Man of the People—Result of Lincoln's Success—Washington and Lincoln Compared—The Two Greatest Names in American History.

ONE of the most masterly addresses on our great American statesmen delivered by McKinley was that on Lincoln, at Albany, New York, before the Unconditional Republican Club, February 12, 1895. Many of his speeches, especially those delivered before Lincoln clubs, and on Lincoln birthdays, fittingly refer to the greatest American statesman. This oration is in itself a complete study of Abraham Lincoln. McKinley opened by saying:

A noble manhood, nobly consecrated to man, never dies. The martyr of liberty, the emancipator of a race, the savior of the only free government among men may be buried from human sight, but his deeds will live in human gratitude forever.

The story of his simple life is the story of the plain, honest, manly citizen, true patriot and profound statesman who, believing with all the strength of his mighty soul in the institutions of his country, won, because of them, the highest place in its government—then fell a

sacrifice to the Union he held so dear, and which Providence spared his life long enough to save. We meet to-night to do honor to one whose achievements have heightened human aspirations and broadened the field of opportunity to the races of men. While the party with which we stand, and for which he stood, can justly claim him, and without dispute can boast the distinction of being the first to honor and trust him, his fame has leaped the bounds of party and country, and now belongs to mankind and the ages.

In the opinion of McKinley, the trait of character which made Lincoln a leader and master without a rival in the greatest crisis of our history was his deep-rooted faith in the people. On this point McKinley says:

Lincoln had sublime faith in the people. He walked with and among them. He recognized the importance and power of an enlightened public sentiment and was guided by it. Even amid the vicissitudes of war he concealed little from public review and inspection. In all he did he invited rather than evaded examination and criticism. He submitted his plans and purposes, as far as practicable, to public consideration with perfect frankness and sincerity. There was such homely simplicity in his character that it could not be hedged in by the pomp of place, nor the ceremonials of high official station. He was so accessible to the public that he seemed to take the people into his confidence. Here, perhaps, was one secret of his power. The people never lost their confidence in him, however much they unconsciously added to his personal discomfort and trials. His patience was almost superhuman. And who will say that he was mistaken

in his treatment of the thousands who thronged continually about him? More than once when reproached for permitting visitors to crowd upon him, he asked, in pained surprise, "Why, what harm does this confidence in men do me?"

This characteristic was the secret of his success as chief magistrate of the Republic during the Civil War. The people were always with him. Again quoting from McKinley:

In all the long years of slavery agitation, Lincoln always carried the people with him. In 1854 Illinois cast loose from her old Democratic moorings and followed his leadership in a most emphatic protest against the repeal of the Missouri Compromise. In 1858 the people of Illinois indorsed his opposition to the aggressions of slavery, in a State usually Democratic, even against so popular a leader as the Little Giant. In 1860, the whole country indorsed his position on slavery, even when the people were continually harangued that his election meant the dissolution of the Union. During the war the people advanced with him step by step to its final overthrow. Indeed, in the election of 1864, the people not only indorsed emancipation, but went far toward recognizing the political equality of the negro. They heartily justified the President in having enlisted colored soldiers to fight side by side with the white man in the noble cause of union and liberty. Aye, they did more; they indorsed his position on another and vastly more important phase of the race problem. They approved his course as President in re-organizing the government of Louisiana, and a hostile press did not fail to call attention

to the fact that this meant eventually negro suffrage in that State.

In comparing Washington and Lincoln, McKinley again says:

The greatest names in American history are Washington and Lincoln. One is forever associated with the independence of the States and formation of the Federal Union; the other with universal freedom and the preservation of the Union. Washington inforced the Declaration of Independence as against England; Lincoln proclaimed its fulfillment not only to a down-trodden race in America, but to all people for all time who may seek the protection of our flag. These illustrious men achieved grander results for mankind within a single century, from 1775 to 1865, than any other men ever accomplished in all the years since first the flight of time began. Washington engaged in no ordinary revolution; with him it was not who should rule, but what should rule. He drew his sword not for a change of rulers upon an established throne, but to establish a new government which should acknowledge no throne but the tribune of the people. Lincoln accepted war to save the Union, the safeguard of our liberties, and re-establish it on "indestructible foundations" as forever "one and indivisible." To quote his own grand words: Now we are contending "that this Nation under God shall have a new birth of freedom, and that government of the people, by the people, for the people, shall not perish from the earth."

Each lived to accomplish his appointed task. Each received the unbounded gratitude of the people of his time and each is held in great and ever-increasing rever-

ence by posterity. The fame of each will never die; it will grow with the ages, because it is based upon imperishable service to humanity; not to the people of a single generation or country, but to the whole human family, wherever scattered, forever.

The present generation knows Washington only from history, and by that alone can judge him. Lincoln we known by history also, but thousands are still living who participated in the great events in which he was leader and master. Many of his contemporaries survived him; some are here yet in almost every locality. So Lincoln is not far removed from us; he may be said to be still known to the millions—not surrounded by the mist of antiquity, nor a halo of idolatry that is impenetrable. He never was inaccessible to the people; thousands carry with them yet the words which he spoke in their hearing; thousands remember the pressure of his hand; and thousands have not forgotten that indescribably sad, thoughtful, far-seeing expression which impressed everybody. Nobody could keep the people away from him, and when they came he would suffer no one to drive them back. So it is that an unusually large number of the American people came to know this great man and that he is still so well remembered by them. It cannot be said that they were all mistaken about him or that they misinterpreted his greatness. Men are still connected with the Government who served during his administration. There are at least two Senators, and perhaps twice as many Representatives, who participated in his first inauguration—men who stood side by side with him in the trying duties of his administration and who have been, without interruption, in one branch or another of the public service ever since. The Supreme Court of

the United States still has among its members one whom Lincoln appointed, and so of other branches of the Federal judiciary. His faithful private secretaries are still alive and have rendered posterity a great service in their history of Lincoln and his times. They have told the story of his life and public services with such entire frankness and fidelity as to exhibit to the world "the very inner courts of his soul."

This host of witnesses, without exception, agree as to the true nobility and intellectual greatness of Lincoln. All proudly claim for Lincoln the highest abilities and the most distinguished and self-sacrificing patriotism. Lincoln taught them, and has taught us, that no party or partisan can escape responsibility to the people; that no party advantage, or presumed party advantage, should ever swerve us from the plain path of duty, which is ever the path of honor and distinction. He emphasized his words by his daily life and deeds. He showed to the world by his lofty example, as well as by precept and maxim, that there are times when the voice of partisanship should be hushed and that of patriotism only be heeded. He taught that a good service done for the country, even in aid of an unfriendly administration, brings to the men and the party, who rise above the temptation of temporary partisan advantage, a lasting gain in the respect and confidence of the people. He showed that such patriotic devotion is usually rewarded, not only with retention in power and the consciousness of duty well and bravely done, but with the gratification of beholding the blessings of relief and prosperity, not of a party or section, but of the whole country. This he held should be the first and great consideration with all public servants.

Lincoln was a man of moderation. He was neither an autocrat nor a tyrant. If he moved slowly sometimes, it was because it was better to move slowly and he was only waiting for his reserves to come up. Possessing almost unlimited power, he yet carried himself like one of the humblest of men. He weighed every subject. He considered and reflected upon every phase of public duty. He got the average judgment of the plain people. He had a high sense of justice, a clear understanding of the rights of others, and never needlessly inflicted an injury upon any man. He always taught and enforced the doctrine of mercy and charity on every occasion. Even in the excess of rejoicing, he said to a party who came to serenade him a few nights after the Presidential election in November, 1864: "Now that the election is over, may not all having a common interest reunite in a common effort to save our common country? So long as I have been here I have not willingly planted a thorn in any man's bosom. While I am deeply sensible to the high compliment of a re-election, and duly grateful, as I trust, to Almighty God for having directed my countrymen to a right conclusion, as I think, for their own good, it adds nothing to my satisfaction that any other man may be disappointed or pained by the result."

It is in the studies of such self-sacrificing, patriotic American lives as those of Lincoln and of our other American statesmen that McKinley best reflects the qualities of his own mind and heart. In this sketch of his life it has only been possible to present a few extracts from some of his most notable addresses on our great soldiers and statesmen. There are others just as eloquent, just as full of true patriotism as those

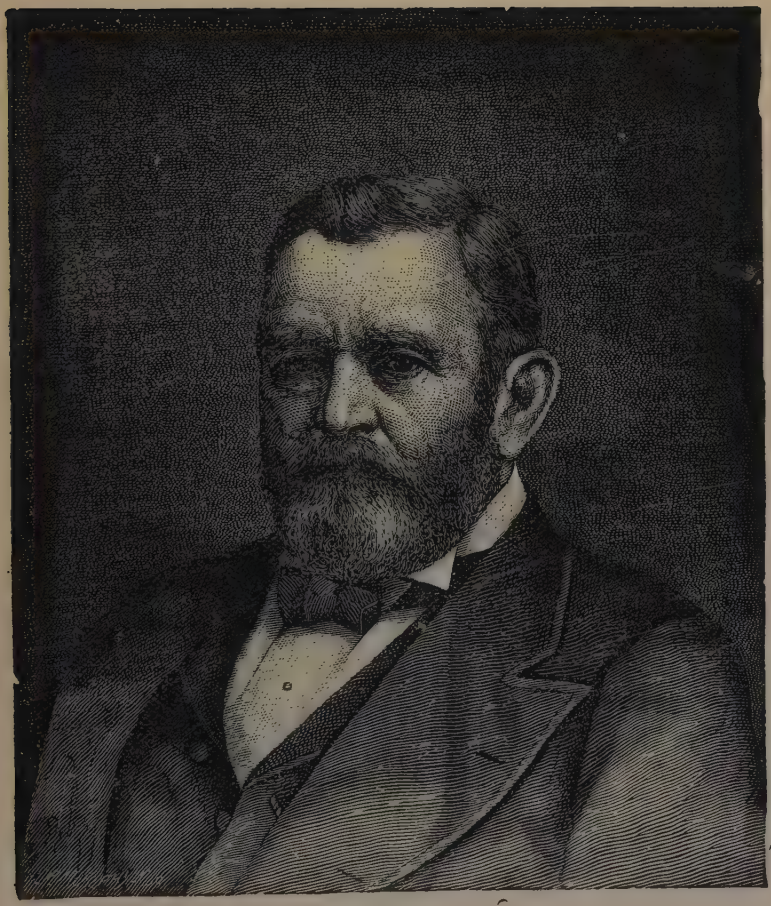
given. Running through them all, we find the same affection and respect for the opinion of the plain people which was the source of Lincoln's strength. And it is this characteristic, above and beyond all other elements of his character, that would enable McKinley to meet successfully any emergency that might arise should he be called upon to fill the place of chief magistrate of a Nation of seventy millions of people. That the lives of Lincoln, Grant, Hayes and Garfield, indeed, of all our eminent American statesmen, have been thoroughly impressed upon the career of McKinley is evident to those who have studied his utterances on the life and character of these statesmen.

CHAPTER XXXV.

ULYSSES S. GRANT.

The Hero of Appomattox—McKinley's Oration at Galena, on Grant's Birthday—A Great Soldier and Typical American—His Brave and Gentle Nature—Career as President—Simple and Affectionate in Private Life—Great in Life, Majestic in Death.

PERHAPS the most fitting comment on McKinley's oration at the celebration of the seventy-first anniversary of the birth of Ulysses S. Grant, at Galena, Illinois, on April 27, 1893, was that paid him by the Chicago *Inter-Ocean:* "Yesterday was one of triumphant patriotism in Galena. The air was balmy and the sky clear enough to permit of the original plan of an outdoor celebration had the earth been as favoring; but as it was, with exercises indoors, the old town gave every evidence of appreciative pride in its privilege of celebrating the birthday of the immortal hero of Appomattox. It seems felicitously fit that Governor McKinley should be the orator of the day. This man has proved himself as intrepid, as decisive, and, we doubt not, as wise in politics as Grant proved himself in the time of war, and he has many of the moral and mental qualities that made the Old Commander great. McKinley knew Grant in all the phases of his public career,



U. S. GRANT.

having served in his armies as soldier, and been arrayed with him in the cares of State, and having studied him with that admiring regard that a noble-minded young man ever gives to one his elder who has achieved honorable distinction.

"With the memories of affection and admiration to intensify the genius that has characterized Ohio's little giant as an orator, McKinley was, perhaps, the most suitable man in the country to fill the office of orator at Galena yesterday, and the address elsewhere published is in evidence how thoroughly well the speaker fulfilled expectations. The subject was an inspiring one, particularly amid the scenes of the 'mute, inglorious life' of the man whom fate had singled out to hold the world in awe; but the scholarly statesman who is an idol of his countrymen was equal to the fullest demands of the occasion, even to the extent of enriching his theme, as the enthusiastic poet ever ennobles his heroes."

There are some thoughts scattered through this oration that deserve to be taken as patriotic axioms—thoughts that are worthy to be cherished in the heart of every true American; indeed, of every man who loves manhood and esteems honor.

McKinley distinguished himself, and left to those who selected him a grateful pride in their choice and a greater than former admiration of the man who has been to us something of an ideal American.

In consequence of his early military experience, the sympathy of the soldier-statesman has, as a rule, been with the private soldier. This is clearly demon-

strated in his numerous speeches in relation to pensions, in Decoration Day orations, and the memorial addresses on great soldiers which he has been called upon at various times to make. To see that he is likewise capable of admiring and appreciating the great generals of the war, it is only necessary to read his now celebrated address on Ulysses S. Grant referred to above. Of Grant's wonderful military career, McKinley said:

On March 18, 1864, a little more than three years from his departure from Galena, where he was drilling your local company as a simple captain, Grant assumed the control of all the Federal forces, wherever located, and in less than fourteen months, Lee's army, the pride and glory of the Confederate government, surrendered to the victorious soldier. It was not a surrender without resistance—skillful, dogged resistance, It was secured after many battles and fierce assaults, accompanied by indescribable toil and suffering, and the loss of thousands of precious lives. The battles of the Wilderness, Spottsylvania, North Anna and Cold Harbor, and the siege of Petersburg, witnessed the hardest fighting and the severest sacrifices of the war, while the loss of brave men in the trenches was simply appalling. The historian has wearied in detailing them, and the painter's hand has palsied with reproducing the scenes of blood and carnage there enacted. General Grant not only directed the forces in front of Richmond, but the entire line of operation of all our armies was under his skillful hand and was moved by his masterful mind. The entire field was the theatre of his thought, and to his command all moved as a symmetrical whole, harmonious to one pur-

pose, centering upon one grand design. In obedience to his orders, Sherman was marching, fighting and winning victories with his splendid army in Georgia, extending our victorious banners farther and deeper into the heart of the Confederacy; and all the while the immortal Thomas was engaging the enemy in another part of the far-stretching field, diverting and defeating the only army which might successfully impede the triumphant march of Sherman to the sea. Sheridan, of whom General Grant said the only instruction he ever required was "to go in," was going into the Shenandoah Valley, that disputed field, the scene of Stonewall Jackson's fame. Here his dashing army, driving by storm and strategy the determined forces of Early, sent them whirling back, stripped of laurels previously won, without either their artillery or battle flags. Schofield had done grand work at Franklin, and later occupied Wilmington and Goldsboro, on the distant seacoast, with a view to final connection with Sherman. These movements, and more, absorbed the mind of the great commander.

Sheridan soon left nothing in the Shenandoah Valley to fight, and was called to Grant's side to command all the cavalry in the final and triumphant conflict which was to be waged against the chivalrous forces of Lee. Then the fighting was in earnest all along the line—with a desperation born of conviction, with a determination not to be thwarted by any host nor turned back by any slaughter. I could not and would not undertake to describe these closing scenes. They were mighty in conception, quick and irresistible in execution, bold almost to rashness. Sweeping like a mighty storm, unchecked by any resistance, right on in the face of death, until the great goal, for which so many had fought and

fallen and so many had prayed and wept, was reached. The army of Northern Virginia surrendered to the matchless Ulysses, and the wicked conspiracy to destroy the Union was dead—forever dead. The Union was saved with Liberty, and we pray both may be eternal.

In speaking of Grant's magnanimity in accepting the surrender of Lee, McKinley says:

The liberal terms given to Lee at Appomattox revealed in the breast of the hard fighter a soft and generous heart. He wanted no vengeance; he had no bitterness in his soul; he had no hates to avenge. He believed in war only as a means of peace. His large, brave, gentle nature made the surrender as easy to his illustrious foe as was possible. He said, with the broadest humanity: "Take your horses and side arms, all of your personal property and belongings, and go home, not to be disturbed, not to be punished for treason, not to be outcasts; but go, cultivate the fields whereon you fought and lost. Yield faithful allegiance to the old flag and the restored Union, and obey the laws of peace." Was ever such magnanimity before shown by victor to vanquished? Here closed the great war, and with it the active military career of the great commander.

It is doubtful if a more concise and admirable summary of Grant's civil career has been written than the following:

His civil administration covered eight years—two full terms as President of the United States. This new exaltation was not of his own asking. He preferred to remain General of the Army with which he had been so long associated and in which he had acquired his great

fame. The country, however, was determined that the successful soldier should be its civil ruler. The loyal people felt that they owed him the highest honors which the Nation could bestow, and they called him from the military to the civil head of the Government. His term commenced in March, 1869, and ended in March, 1877. It constituted one of the important periods of our National life. If the period of Washington's administration involved the formation of the Union, that of Grant's was confronted with its reconstruction, after the bitter, relentless, internal struggle to destroy it. It was a most delicate era in which to rule. It would have been difficult, embarrassing and hazardous to any man, no matter how gifted, or what his previous preparation or equipment might have been. Could any one have done better than he? We will not pause to discuss. Different opinions prevail, and on this occasion we do not enter the field of controversy; but, speaking for myself, I believe he was exactly the man for the place, and that he filled to its full measure the trust to which his fellow-citizens called him. He committed errors. Who could have escaped them, at such a time and in such a place? He stood in his civil station battling for the legitimate fruits of the war, that they might be firmly secured to the living and to their posterity forever. His arm was never lifted against the right; his soul abhorred the wrong. His veto of the Inflation bill, his organization of the Geneva Arbitration Commission to settle the claims of the United States against England, his strong but conciliatory foreign policy; his constant care to have no policy against the will of the people; his enforcement of the Constitution and its Amendments in every part of the Republic; his maintenance of the credit of the Gov-

ernment and its good faith at home and abroad, marked his administration as strong, wise and patriotic. Great and wise as his civil administration was, however, the achievements which make him "one of the immortal few whose names will never die" are found in his military career. Carping critics have sought to mar it, strategists have found flaws in it, but in the presence of his successive, uninterrupted, and unrivalled victories it is the idlest chatter, which none should heed. He was always ready to fight. If beaten to-day, he resumed battle on the morrow; and his pathway was all along crowned with victories and surrenders, which silence criticism, and place him side by side with the mighty soldiers of the world.

With no disparagement to others, two names rise above all the rest in American history since George Washington—transcendently above them. They are Abraham Lincoln and Ulysses S. Grant. Each will be remembered for what he did and accomplished for his race and mankind. Lincoln proclaimed liberty to four million slaves, and upon this act invited "the considerate judgment of mankind and the gracious favor of Almighty God." He has received the warm approval of the one, and I am sure he is enjoying the generous benediction of the other. His was the greatest, mightiest stroke of the war. Grand on its humanity side, masterly in its military aspect, it has given to his name an imperishable place among men. Grant gave irresistible power and efficacy to the Proclamation of Liberty. The iron shackles which Lincoln declared should be loosed from the limbs and souls of the black slaves, Grant with his matchless army melted and destroyed in the burning glories of the war; and the rebels read the inspired

decree in the flashing guns of artillery, and they knew what Lincoln had decreed Grant would execute.

He had now filled the full measure of human ambition and drunk from every fountain of earthly glory. He had commanded mighty legions upon a hundred victorious fields. He had borne great responsibilities and exercised almost limitless power. He had executed every trust with fidelity, and, in the main, with consummate skill. He had controlled the movement of a larger army than had been commanded by any other soldier, the world over, since the invention of firearms. He was made General of the United States Army by Congress on July 25, 1866—a rank and title never given to an American soldier before. He had won the lasting gratitude of his fellow-countrymen, and whenever or wherever he went among them they crowned him with fresh manifestations of their love and veneration—and no reverses of fortune, no errors of judgment, no vexatious and unfortunate business complications ever shook their trustful confidence. When he sought rest in other lands, crowned heads stood uncovered in his presence and laid their trophies at his feet, while the struggling toiler, striving for a larger liberty, offered his earnest tribute to the great warrior who had made liberty universal in the Republic. Everywhere he went, grateful honors greeted him, and he was welcomed as no American had been before. He girded the globe with his renown as he journeyed in the pathway of the sun. Nothing of human longing or aspiration remained unsatiated. He had enjoyed all the honors which his lavish countrymen could bestow, and had received the respectful homage of foreign nations.

His private life was beautiful in its purity and sim-

plicity. No irreverent oath passed his lips, and his conversation was as chaste and unaffected as that of simple childhood. His relations with his family were tender and affectionate, and with his officers and soldiers, cordial and considerate. He was a typical American, free from ostentation, easily approached. His whole life gave proof of his nationality—a man from the people, of the people, for the people, and never above the people.

This address, which in expression and charm of style deserves to rank with the first productions of the kind, closes with these eloquent words:

Mighty events and mightier achievements were never crowded into a single life before, and he lived to place them in enduring form, to be read by the millions living and the millions yet unborn. Then, laying down his pen, he bowed resignedly before the Angel of Death, saying: "If it is God's providence that I shall go now, I am ready to obey His will without a murmur." Great in life, majestic in death! He needs no monument to perpetuate his fame; it will live and glow with increased luster so long as liberty lasts and the love of liberty has a place in the hearts of men. Every soldiers' monument throughout the North, now standing or hereafter to be erected, will record his worth and work as well as those of the brave men who fought by his side. His most lasting memorial will be the work he did, his most enduring monument the Union which he and his heroic associates saved, and the priceless liberty they secured.

Surrounded by a devoted family, with a mind serene and a heart resigned, he passed over to join his fallen comrades beyond the river, on another field of glory.

Above him in his chamber of sickness and death hung the portraits of Washington and Lincoln, whose disembodied spirits in the Eternal City were watching and waiting for him who was to complete the immortal trio of America's first and best loved; and as the earthly scenes receded from his view, and the celestial appeared, I can imagine those were the first to greet his sight and bid him welcome.

We are not a Nation of hero worshipers. We are a Nation of generous freemen. We bow in affectionate reverence and with most grateful hearts to these immortal names, Washington, Lincoln and Grant, and will guard with sleepless vigilance their mighty work and cherish their memories evermore.

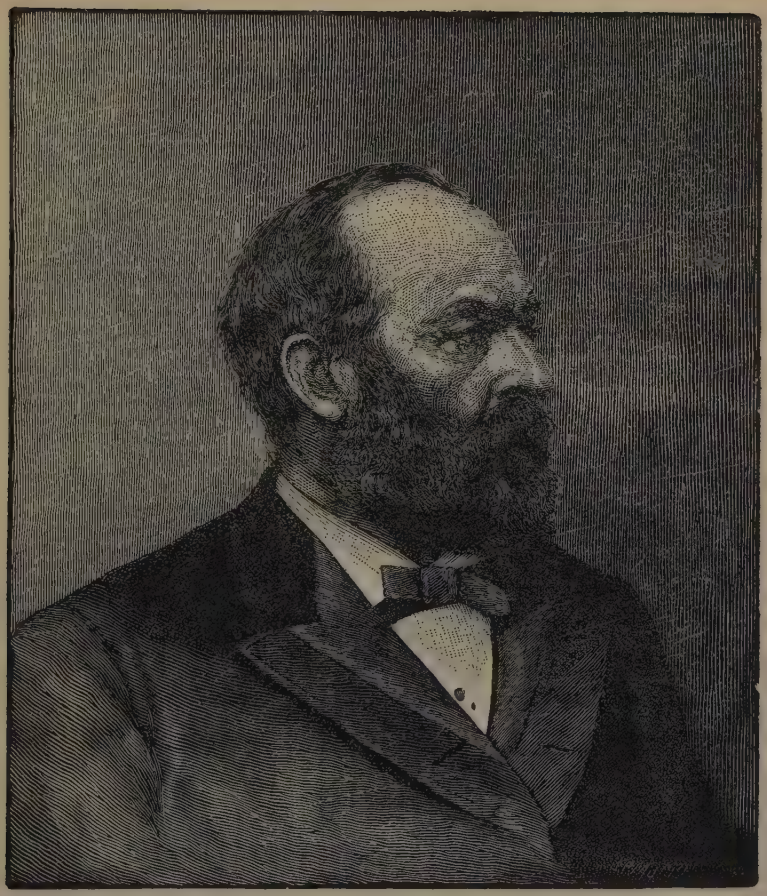
"They were the luster lights of their day,
The . . . giants
Who clave the darkness asunder
And beaconed us where we are."

CHAPTER XXXVI.

JAMES A. GARFIELD.

McKinley's Estimate of Garfield—A Brave and Able Soldier—It was as a Legislator That He Excelled—A Man of Great Intellectual Resources—The Friend of all Mankind—A Strong and Gifted Orator.

THE life of James A. Garfield must have appealed with more than ordinary interest to McKinley. Garfield was an Ohio boy. He began life in much the same way as McKinley did, his birthright being good, honest parents, a sturdy body and receptive brain. Like McKinley, he seems to have equipped himself for the struggles of both military and civic life by dint of his own energy and courage. Like McKinley, he worked from an early age. He, too, was neither ashamed nor afraid of manual labor, but engaged in it resolutely for the means of maintaining and educating himself. An older man than McKinley, he could claim some experience in public life before he entered the Union army, August, 1861. In the one case, at this point in their careers, we are dealing with a boy of seventeen, and in the other with a young man of twenty-nine. Garfield was rapidly promoted. His military services secured him his first National prominence. As McKinley said of



JAMES A. GARFIELD.

him in an address accepting the statue of Garfield, presented by the State of Ohio, in the House of Representatives, January 19, 1886:

He showed himself competent to command in the field, although without previous training. He could plan battles and fight them successfully. As an officer he was exceptionally popular, beloved by his men, many of whom were his former students, respected and honored by his superiors in rank, and his martial qualities and gallant behavior were more than once commended in general orders and rewarded by the Government with well-merited promotion.

There is no doubt that Garfield filled every military post with intelligence and fidelity, and directed the movements of troops with judgment and skill. He was, in short, brave and sagacious. In his study of President Garfield, McKinley rightly attributes his most enduring fame to his ability as a legislator. Speaking of Garfield upon the occasion above referred to, McKinley says:

Distinguished as was his military career, which in itself would have given him a proud place in history, his most enduring fame, his highest renown, was earned in this House as a representative of the people. Here his marvelous qualities were brought into full activity, here he grew with gradual but ever-increasing strength, here he won his richest laurels, here was the scene and center of his greatest glory. Here he was leader and master, not by combination of scheming, not by chicane or caucus, but by the force of his cultivated mind, his keen and far-seeing judgment, his unanswerable logic, his strength

and power of speech, his thorough comprehension of the subjects of legislation. Always strong, he was strongest on his feet addressing the House, or, from the rostrum, the assembled people. Who of us having heard him here or elsewhere, speaking upon a question of great National concern, can forget the might and majesty, the force and directness, the grace and beauty of his utterances. He was always just to his adversary, an open and manly opponent, and free from invective. He convinced the judgment with his searching logic, while he swayed his listeners with brilliant periods and glowing eloquence. He was always an educator of the people. His thoughts were fresh, vigorous and instructive.

In running over his public service here, covering a period of nearly eighteen years, crowding page after page of the Congressional Record, I have sought to settle in my own mind the question or questions in which he was greatest and with which his name will be best remembered. I confess it is no easy task. He was not a specialist in statesmanship. The subjects which he debated covered all the leading issues of the parties and the political policies of his time. He limited himself to no one topic, and was confined to no single range of National legislation. His thoroughness upon every question he touched was marked and habitual. The Congressional debates show him prominent in discussion of the military affairs of the Government in time of war, when mighty armies were to be mustered and the means provided for their maintenance; the emancipation of the slave, and the problem of his future; the reconstruction of the seceded States; the amendments to the Constitution giving suffrage to the newly enfranchised race; the tariff; refunding the National debt; general education; the re-

sumption of specie payment; silver coinage; the civil service; the independence of the several branches of the Federal Government.

He brought to this wide range of subjects vast learning and comprehensive judgment. He enlightened and strengthened every cause he advocated. Great in dealing with them all, dull and common-place in none, but to me he was the strongest, broadest and bravest when he spoke for honest money, the fulfillment of the Nation's promises, the resumption of specie payments, the maintenance of the public faith. He contributed his share, in full measure, to secure National honesty and preserve inviolate our National honor. None did more, few, if any, so much to bring the Government back to a sound, stable and constitutional money. He was a very giant in those memorable struggles, and it required upon his part the exercise of the highest courage. A considerable element of his party was against him, notably in his own State and some parts of his Congressional district. The mad passion of inflation and irredeemable currency was sweeping through the West, with the greatest fury in his own State. He was assailed for his convictions, and threatened with defeat. He was the special target for the hate and prejudice of those who stood against the honest fulfillment of National obligations. In a letter to a friend on New Year's eve, 1867–'68, he wrote:

"I have just returned from a tedious trip to Ashtabula, where I made a two hours' speech upon finance, and when I came home, came through a storm of paper-money denunciation in Cleveland, only to find on my arrival here a sixteen-page letter, full of alarm and prophecy of my political ruin for my opinions on the currency."

To the same friend he wrote in 1878:

"On the whole, it is probable I will stand again for the House. I am not sure, however, but the Nineteenth District will go back on me upon the silver question. If they do, I shall count it an honorable discharge."

These, and more of the same tenor, which I might produce from his correspondence, show the extreme peril attending his position upon the currency and silver questions, but he never flinched, he never wavered; he faced all the dangers, assumed all the risks, voting and speaking for what he believed would secure the highest good. He stood at the forefront, with the waves of an adverse popular sentiment beating against him, threatening his political ruin, fearlessly contending for sound principles of finance against public clamor and a time-saving policy. To me his greatest effort was made on this floor in the Forty-fifth Congress, from his old seat yonder near the center aisle. He was at his best. He rose to the highest requirements of the subject and the occasion. His mind and soul were absorbed with this topic. He felt the full responsibility of his position and the necessity of averting a policy (the abandonment of specie resumption) which he believed would be disastrous to the highest interests of the country. Unfriendly criticism seemed only to give him breadth of contemplation and boldness and force of utterance.

Those of us who were so fortunate as to hear him can not efface the recollection of his matchless effort. Both sides of this chamber were eager listeners, and crowded galleries bent to catch every word, and all were sensibly moved by his forceful logic and impassioned eloquence. He at once stepped to the front without rival contestant, secure in the place he had fairly earned. The press

and the people received the address with warm approval, and his rank before the country was fixed as a strong, faithful and fearless leader. No one thing he had ever done contributed so much to his subsequent elevation; no act of his life required higher courage; none displayed greater power; none realized to him larger honors; none brought him higher praise.

Something of his real character and high aims as a legislator and public servant is disclosed in his private correspondence, from which I quote a single sentence:

"You know that I have always said that my whole public life was an experiment to determine whether an intelligent people would sustain a man in acting sensibly on each proposition that arose, and in doing nothing for mere show or demagogical effect. I do not now remember that I ever cast a vote of that latter sort."

His experiment, although a perilous one and fraught with extreme danger, was yet successful, and that it was so is a high tribute not to him alone, but to the justice and intelligence of the old Western Reserve district and the whole American people. He was sustained, triumphantly sustained, over and over again by his immediate constituency. His State sustained him, and at last a Nation of fifty millions of people rewarded his courage and consistency with the highest honors it could bestow.

Although elected, General Garfield never took his seat in the Senate of the United States. His legislative career ended here, where it had practically begun eighteen years before. His nomination for the Presidency occurred soon after the Legislature of Ohio had chosen him Senator, and came to him, as did all of his honors, because deserved. Although unsought, no mere chance brought him this rare distinction. His solid

reputation rendered it not improbable at any time. He had the qualities which attached his great party to him, and the equipment which filled the fullest measure of public and party requirement. From the stirring scenes at Chicago to the succeeding election, he bore himself like a statesman and patriot fit for the highest trust. He advanced in public confidence, and whenever he met with or addressed the people, he enlarged the circle of his admiring followers and friends. His brief term in the Presidency, so tragically ended, gave promise of large usefulness to the country in the realization of the true American policy at home and abroad. His death filled the Nation with profound and universal sorrow, and all lands and all peoples sympathized in our overshadowing bereavement.

In General Garfield, as in Lincoln and Grant, we find the best representation of the possibilities of American life. Boy and man, he typifies American youth and manhood, and illustrates the beneficence and glory of our free institutions. His early struggles for an education, his self-support, his "lack of means," his youthful yearnings, find a prototype in every city, village and hamlet of the land. They did not retard his progress, but spurred him on to higher and nobler endeavor. His push and perseverance, his direct and undeviating life purpose, his sturdy integrity, his Christian character, were rewarded with large results and exceptional honors—honors not attainable anywhere else, and only to be acquired under the generous and helpful influences of a free government.

He was twenty-three years of age when he confronted the practical duties and the wider problems of life. All before had been training and preparation, the best of both, and his marvelous career ended before he was fifty.

Few have crowded such great results and acquired such lasting fame in so short a life. Few have done so much for country and for civilization as he whom we honor to-day, stricken down as he was when scarce at the meridian of his powers. He did not flash forth as a meteor; he rose with measured and stately step over rough paths and through years of rugged work. He earned his passage to every preferment. He was tried and tested at every step in his pathway of progress. He produced his passport at every gateway to opportunity and glory.

His broad and benevolent nature made him the friend of all mankind. He loved the young men of the country, and drew them to him by the thoughtful concern with which he regarded them. He was generous in his helpfulness to all, and to his encouragement and words of cheer many are indebted for much of their success in life. In personal character he was clean and without reproach. As a citizen, he loved his country and her institutions, and was proud of her progress and prosperity. As a scholar and man of letters, he took high rank. As an orator, he was exceptionally strong and gifted. As a soldier, he stood abreast with the bravest and best of the citizen soldiery of the Republic. As a legislator, his most enduring testimonial will be found in the records of Congress and the statutes of his country. As President, he displayed moderation and wisdom with executive ability, which gave the highest assurance of a most successful and illustrious administration.

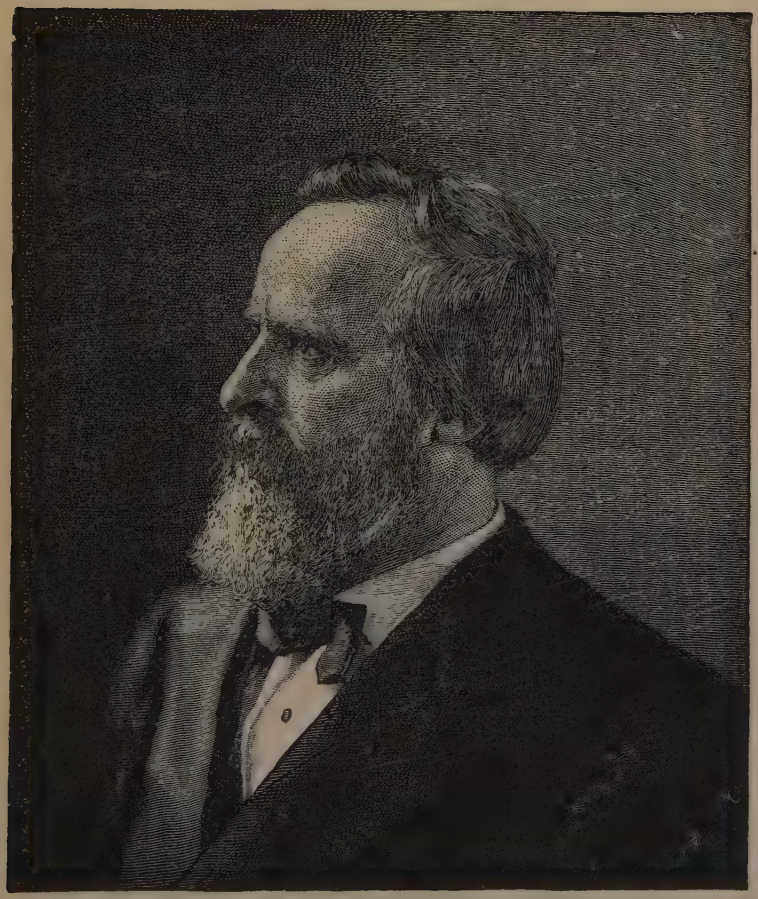
In this little sketch of President Garfield, McKinley unintentionally gives us, with eloquence it would be difficult to match, the sketch of a career which in many important points resembles his own.

CHAPTER XXXVII.

RUTHERFORD B. HAYES.

McKinley's Address on His Old Commander—The Friendship of Hayes and McKinley—The Wise, Patriotic and Conscientious Administration of President Hayes—The Dignity of the Closing Year of a Life Full of Valor and Usefulness—A Merited Tribute.

McKINLEY, as we have seen in the chapter on his military career, served as a young officer on President Hayes's staff. The outcome of this early association resulted in a strong friendship between the two men, which it is hardly necessary to say lasted until the death of President Hayes. On several public occasions, and in his diary, President Hayes refers to McKinley, both as a young and courageous soldier, and as a fearless and honest statesman. Hayes was President when McKinley was elected to Congress, and his personal friendship begun on the Nation's battlefields continued throughout the Hayes administration at the National Capital. In the chapter on McKinley's military record is given a brief history of the young soldier's career by his old commander, General Hayes. It is a tribute which McKinley may well be proud of. In his address before the Ohio Wesleyan University at Delaware, June 20, 1893, McKinley said:



RUTHERFORD B. HAYES.

The administration of President Hayes answered the highest test to which it could be subjected. It was satisfactory and successful; it was clean, conscientious, wise and patriotic. During it, preparation for the resumption of specie payments was made with such care and wisdom that when the appointed day came there was no shock or disturbance to business; it came almost unobserved, bringing security and courage to the business world. This was wholly accomplished in less than two years after Hayes was inaugurated, and as the result of the work of his administration, and his administration alone. The public debt was also funded at lower rates of interest, and the country entered upon an era of unexampled prosperity. His determination and firmness in resisting unwarrantable interference by Congress with the executive power of the Government, displayed his accustomed bravery. With both branches of Congress a part of the time against him, he nevertheless compelled it, by the weight of public opinion, to accept his position on many of the most important bills. He maintained in full vigor the Constitutional prerogatives of the President. As to his position on the Southern question and his attempted reforms in the civil service, there will always be honest differences of opinion. In his veto of the anti-Chinese bill, he displayed great moral courage. His special message of March 8, 1880, on the inter-oceanic canal, also merits warm commendation, and the policy thus outlined has since been adopted by Congress and sustained by three successive administrations. His benevolence and piety dictated his Indian policy, and under no other administration in American history was so much done for these unfortunate people. His administration began under the most unfavorable auspices, for, aside

from the threatening and troublesome political complications, business stagnation and severe distress had prevailed throughout the country, resulting from the great panic of 1873. His conduct of public affairs made Republican success possible in 1880, fully restored and strengthened the confidence of the people in that party in the Northern States, and won for him the genuine respect and good will of the wisest and best men of all parties. His lofty purpose was never questioned—his purity of personal and official life was everywhere accepted. His death discloses this even more clearly than did his retirement from public office. His bitterest enemy can find no flaw in his character, no defective link in the chain of his life. He expressed a noble sentiment, one that fitly characterized his own conduct, when he declared: "He serves his party best who serves his country best."

Not far from the city of Cleveland is the beautiful country home of the Hayes family, which his children keep up with great care, and in which may be found at this time his library and all his belongings carefully preserved by affectionate and tender hands. Commenting on the dignity of the closing years of Hayes's life, McKinley said:

At the expiration of his term, Mr. Hayes sought the peaceful quiet and retirement of his old home at Fremont. He was then and subsequently the recipient of many honorable distinctions. Kenyon, Harvard, Yale and Johns Hopkins universities conferred upon him the degree of LL. D. He was elected commander-in-chief of the Loyal Legion of the United States, and at his death held that office. He was also elected commander

of the Ohio Commandery of that patriotic order, the first president of the Society of the Army of West Virginia, and president of the Twenty-third Regiment Ohio Volunteers' Association. His time was almost entirely devoted to benevolent enterprises. He was president of the board of trustees of the John Slater Educational Fund; president of the National Prison Reform Association; an active member of the National Conference of Correction and Charities; a trustee of the Ohio State University at Columbus; a trustee of Kenyon College at Gambier; a trustee of the Western Reserve University of Cleveland, of the Wesleyan University here at Delaware, of Mount Union College at Alliance, and of various other charitable and educational institutions. You can attest his usefulness in college work, you know and appreciate his fidelity and his worth, but who can tell the noble work done by this pure and enlightened man among the friendless inmates of asylums, almshouses and prisons? God alone knows how many he lifted up to a higher and better life. He had a heart large enough to feel for all sufferers, and a disposition that prompted him to constant and generous effort in behalf of the depraved and the unfortunate.

No ex-President ever passed the period of his retirement from the executive chair to the grave with more dignity, self-respect, or public usefulness. None met him but to admire the head and the heart of the man, and to marvel how he could have been so much misjudged and so often belittled, berated and maligned. His old army comrades knew the stuff of which he was made; knew that his every aspiration was manly; knew that every fiber of his nature was true and steady. His old friends and neighbors at Fre-

mont understood him and appreciated his genuine worth, the simplicity and nobility of his character, better, perhaps, than any others. Your board of trustees and faculty knew his strength, and had occasion to observe his unselfish devotion to the cause of greater enlightenment and higher education. General Hayes never spoke ill of any one, nor slightingly of friend or foe. He was a serious, earnest man, never a trifler. There was something in his life that reminds me of those lines of his favorite poem, Tom Taylor's tribute to Lincoln, in London *Punch:*

He went about his work—such work as few
Ever had laid on head and heart and hand—
As one who knows, where there's a task to do,
Man's honest will must Heaven's good grace command;
Who trusts the strength will with the burden grow,
That God makes instruments to work His will,
If but that will we can arrive to know,
Nor tamper with the weights of good and ill.

It is too soon, perhaps, to form a just estimate of his character. He moved so quietly in our midst, so unostentatiously, and so entirely without assertion of rank or excellence. He was so at home with all classes and conditions of men that we failed to observe how superior he was in many of the qualities that go to make a great character. He was diligent in whatever he undertook, fervent in purpose, with an abiding faith in the people and a trustful confidence in God. We could not appreciate while he was with us how pure, how gentle, how true, how wise, how noble, how unselfish he was. His simplicity of manner, his purity and truth, his absolute freedom from pretense, veiled his excellencies to the common mind. All felt that he was one of us, our brother.

our friend, our comrade, our delightful and genial associate, whose presence was an inspiration, and whose companionship was beneficent and uplifting. Yet in the short time we have had in which to sum up the elements of his character, we are surprised at their strength, their virility, their exalted quality. Some of us may have partly appreciated them, or thought we did; death alone reveals them, in their perfection and grandeur. Compare him with his contemporaries. They lived during the period favorable for the development of the highest qualities of manhood, of soldiership, of statesmanship, of philanthropy. Call the long and honorable roll; others were, perhaps, his superiors in intellect, some were more brilliant, but, measured by the success achieved, measured by the work he wrought, none have surpassed him. He kept pace with the best in the race for usefulness and eminence. He was always advancing, never receding from any position that he won:

His steps were slow, yet forward still
He pressed where others paused or failed,
The calm star clomb with constant will—
The restless meteor flashed and paled!

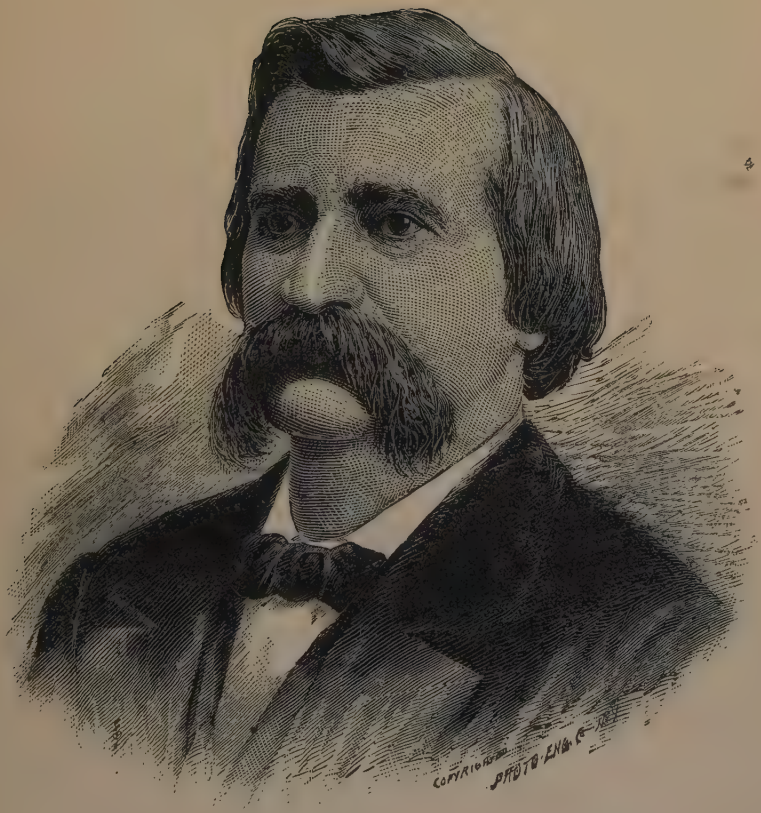
This well-earned tribute of affection and respect from the former young staff officer is regarded by the children of President Hayes as one of the most cherished of the many tributes paid their distinguished father.

CHAPTER XXXVIII.

JOHN A. LOGAN.

Our Citizen Soldiery—They Formed the Irresistible Force—John A. Logan as a Fighter—His Military Genius Extolled—Courage and Devotion His Chief Characteristics—A Useful Legislator and a Valued Citizen—McKinley's Address on the Great Illinois Commander.

McKINLEY has frequently expressed to the writer an admiration for that great volunteer soldier, General Logan. As a young man he recognized the unselfish patriotism of the rank and file of the army and their unselfish consecration to the country. McKinley has always contended that the American volunteer soldier entered the army moved by the highest and purest motives of patriotism. They went to the front that no harm might befall the Republic. While never detracting in any of his speeches from the fame of the trained soldiers, McKinley has always recognized the fact that without the great army of volunteer citizen soldiery, as he calls them, the brilliant achievements of the war would not have been possible. He has repeatedly contended that they were the great power, that they were the majestic, irresistible force. They stood behind the strategic commanders, whose intelligent and indi-



JOHN A. LOGAN.

vidual earnestness, guided by their genius, gained the imperishable victories of the war.

One of these was John A. Logan. In speaking of him in the memorial address in the House of Representatives, February 16, 1887, McKinley truly said:

He was never long in the rear among the followers. Starting there, his resolute and resistless spirit soon impressed itself upon his fellows, and he was quickly advanced to his true and rightful rank of leadership. Without the aid of fortune, without the aid of influential friends, he won his successive stations of honor by the force of his own integrity and industry, his own high character and indomitable will. And it may be said of him that he justly represents one of the best types of American manhood, and illustrates in his life the outcome and possibilities of the American youth under the generous influences of our free institutions.

Participating in two wars, the records of both attest his courage and devotion, his valor and his sacrifices for the country which he loved so well, and to which he more than once dedicated all he possessed, even life itself. Reared a Democrat, he turned away from many of the old party leaders when the trying crisis came which was to determine whether the Union was to be saved or to be severed. He joined his old friend and party leader, Stephen A. Douglas, with all the ardor of his strong nature, and the safety and preservation of the Union became the overshadowing and absorbing purpose of his life. His creed was his country. Patriotism was the sole plank in his platform. Everything must yield to this sentiment; every other consideration was subordinate to it, and so he threw the whole force of his great

character at the very outset into the struggle for National life. To him no sacrifice was too great, no undertaking too difficult, no charge too desperate, no exposure too severe, no siege too hazardous. He commanded on the battle line, and never ordered his men to go where he would not lead. His skirmishers were never too close to the enemy's guns to keep him away. He was every inch a soldier, dashing and fearless, often exposing himself unnecessarily, against the earnest protest of his commanders and comrades. Wherever the fire was the hottest, wherever the line was most exposed, wherever the danger was most imminent, John A. Logan was always to be found. He seemed the very incarnation of soldierly valor and vigor. Belmont, Henry and Donelson, Port Gibson, Raymond, Jackson, Champion Hills and Vicksburg, Resaca, Dallas, Kenesaw, and the battle before Atlanta tell the story of his lofty courage, of his martial qualities, of his genius to command and of his matchless heroism, as these great battles tell to all mankind the dreadful cost of liberty and the price of our Nationality.

Great and commanding, however, as were his services in war, the true eulogist of General Logan can never pass unnoticed the important services rendered by him immediately preceding his enlistment and afterwards, in arousing an intense, a deep, a profound love for country, and a strong and lasting sentiment for the cause of the Union, not only in his own State, but in every one of the Northern States; and the full measure and influence of his prompt action and courageous stand at that time never can be estimated. His patriotic words penetrated the hearts and the homes of the people of twenty-two States. They increased enlistment. They swelled the

muster rolls of the Union. They moved the indifferent to prompt action; they drew the doubting into the ranks of the country's defenders.

His first election to Congress was in the year made memorable by the debate between Lincoln and Douglas. In the Presidential contest of 1860, soon following, he was the enthusiastic friend and supporter of Douglas. But the moment secession was initiated and the Union threatened, he was among the first to tender his sword and his services to President Lincoln, and to throw the weight of his great character and resolute soul on the side represented by the political rival of his old friend. He resigned his seat in Congress to raise a regiment, and it is a noteworthy fact that in the Congressional district which he represented, more soldiers were sent to the front according to its population than in any other Congressional district in the United States. It is a further significant fact, that in 1860, when he ran for Congress as a Democratic candidate, in what was known as the old Ninth Congressional District, he received a majority of over 13,000; and six years afterward, when at the conclusion of the war he ran as a candidate of the Republican party in the State of Illinois as Representative to Congress at large, the same old Ninth district that had given him a Democratic majority of 13,000 in 1860, gave him a Republican majority of over 3,000 in 1866. Whatever else these facts may teach, they clearly show one thing—that John A. Logan's old constituency approved of his course, was proud of his illustrious services, and followed the flag which he bore, which was the Flag of the Stars.

His services in this House and in the Senate, almost uninterrupted, since 1867, were marked by great industry,

by rugged honesty, by devotion to the interests of the country and to the whole country, to the rights of the citizen, and especially by a devotion to his late comrades in arms. He was a strong and forcible debater. He was a most thorough master of the subjects he discussed, and an intense believer in the policy and principles he advocated. In popular discussion upon the hustings, he had no superiors and but few equals. He seized the hearts and consciences of men, and moved great multitudes with that fury of enthusiasm with which he had moved his soldiers in the field.

McKinley agrees with many others in the opinion that General Logan's military career, standing alone, would have given him a high place in the world and a secure one in the hearts of his countrymen. The same may be said with equal force of his legislative career. That, standing alone, would have given him enduring reputation, associating his name with some of the most important legislation of the time and century; but united, they undoubtedly represent a combination of forces and of qualities; they present a success in both careers almost unrivaled in the history of man. General Logan lived during a period of great activities and forces, and he impressed himself upon his age and time. To McKinley the dominant and controlling force in the life of Logan was his intense patriotism. As he said in concluding the oration before quoted:

It stamped all his acts and utterances, and was the chief inspiration of the great work he wrought. His book, recently published, is a masterly appeal to the

patriotism of the people. His death, so sudden and unlooked-for, was a shock to his countrymen and caused universal sorrow among all classes in every part of the Union. No class so deeply mourned his taking away as the great volunteer army and their surviving families and friends. They were closely related to him. They regarded him as their never-failing friend. He had been the first Commander-in-chief of the Grand Army of the Republic, and to him this mighty soldier organization, numbering more than four hundred thousand, was indebted for much of its efficiency in the field of charity. He was the idol of the army in which he served—the ideal citizen volunteer of the Republic, the pride of all the armies, and affectionately beloved by all who loved the Union.

Honored and respected by his commanders, held in affectionate regard by the rank and file, who found in him a heroic leader and devoted friend, he advocated the most generous bounties and pensions, and much of this character of legislation was constructed by his hand. So in sympathy was he with the brave men who risked all for country that he demanded for them the most generous treatment. I heard him declare last summer to an audience of ten thousand people, gathered from all sections of the country, at the annual encampment of the Grand Army of the Republic at San Francisco, that he believed that the Government should grant from its overflowing treasury and boundless resources a pension to every Union soldier who was incapable of taking care of himself, asserting with all the fervor of his patriotic soul, that the Government was unworthy of itself and of the blood and treasure it cost, if it would suffer any of its defenders to become inmates of the poorhouses of the land, or be the objects of private charity.

The old soldiers will miss him. The old oak around which their hearts were entwined, to which their hopes clung, has fallen. The old veterans have lost their steady friend. The Congress of the United States has lost one of its ablest counselors, the Republican party one of its confessed leaders, the country one of its noble defenders.

CHAPTER XXXIX.

CONCLUSION.

WHATEVER the future may have in store for William McKinley, his life, to the point where this narrative ends, has been both useful and patriotic, and carries with it much to inspire the American youth. At the age of fifty-two, he has seen twenty-five years of active public service as soldier, lawyer, statesman and as executive officer of a great State. He has figured prominently in the industrial progress of his country and has been the central and conspicuous figure of several of its most remarkable political campaigns.

McKinley represents more than any other man in the political organization to which he has given his adherence, the vital principle of that party. His strong and unwavering advocacy of that doctrine crystallized the sentiment in favor of a protective tariff and brought about the Republican victories of the last three years.

The cause for which McKinley fought until victory was achieved, in 1894, was the cause of the people. The true greatness of a nation does not lie in the volume of its products, the magnitude of its cities,

the sources of its accumulated wealth. All these are of high importance, but they do not constitute the chief sources of our country's glory. The extreme test of every civilization and every system of government is the type of the man and the woman it produces. The grandeur of the nation is not in the splendor of its rich men's palaces, but in the standard of comfort, intelligence and virtue in the homes of its toilers. Tried by this test, the policy of finance and protection which McKinley represents has been magnificently successful. Protection to American industry has made possible a higher type of citizenship. This has been the keynote of all his campaigns. In other nations the laborer is a serf. Here he is a sovereign.

The whole aim of the legislation which made McKinley's reputation and stamped him as an honest, fearless American legislator was to secure the home market for the workingman. It has been shown in these pages that thirty years of protection has brought about in this country a development of industries which is unparalleled in history. It has created a standard of wages and of living that exists in no other country under the sun. It has enabled the American workingman and his family to eat the best food, wear the best clothes, live in a comfortable house, enjoy the benefits of newspapers, magazines, books and all the means of popular enlightenment which nineteenth century civilization affords. It has planted the factory by the farm, the school-house by the factory, the church by the school. It has called

into being a grander anthem than Beethoven or Wagner ever dreamed of; the mighty harmony of whirling looms, of roaring furnaces, of forges where the hammer clangs ceaselessly. Napoleon once said that every French soldier carried in his knapsack the baton of a marshal of France. With greater truth it can be said that under protection every intelligent and energetic workingman carries with him the power to become a captain of industry. Protection has made the American home the fortress of purity, intelligence and comfort—a citadel which the forces of want and vice have assailed in vain.

The facts presented in previous chapters demonstrate beyond the shadow of a doubt that this progress and prosperity, which reached its highest mark two years after the passage of the McKinley bill, was checked and undermined by the withering threats of a policy of free trade. The public credit, created and fortified by the statesmanship of Chase, McCulloch, Sherman and Windom, has been shaken and disgraced by the cowardice and incapacity of the Democratic administration. To counteract this has been McKinley's aim. He has labored for the last three years as no other American statesman ever did before him, to bring about a reversal of the policy which changed industrial prosperity for industrial misery. He has made campaigns which have no equals in the political history of his country. He has never considered his own health and comfort. He has gone ahead earnestly and with faith in the doc-

trine of protection which has never been shaken by defeat. He has insisted that a protective tariff was not an incident, but a right and a duty. By his incessant work, his courageous words, his simple eloquence and earnest endeavor, he has crystallized for his party the entire tariff sentiment of the country and obtained from the people an unqualified and overwhelming endorsement of the American system.

In each of the three campaigns since the Republican defeat in 1892, McKinley has fired the first gun, and if the leaders of the Republican party should decide to nominate him as their standard-bearer next June, the three great battles which he inaugurated and won will be followed by complete triumph in 1896. The surest road to Republican success in the coming Presidential election is to put the tariff to the front. We should begin a fresh campaign in behalf of the wage-earners of America, a campaign which should be carried on without cessation until the sinister shadow of free trade is lifted from every American home and American industrial independence is assured forever.

If given the opportunity, McKinley will do this. He has expressed himself from the very beginning of his public career in Congress as against the tariff reform that means retrenchment and poverty in the homes of America. He is against the policy that would place the American workingman in direct competition with the pauper labor of Europe and the semi-slaves of Asia. He proposes to lead the battle of the people against the ruin and poverty of Demo-

cratic free trade. In the name of the manhood which free trade would impoverish, of the womanhood which it threatens with degradation, of the childhood it would stunt and oppress; in the names of American homes, American schools and American citizenship; in the name of American toilers of every age and class; in the name of liberty, humanity and progress, McKinley pledges himself to fight free trade and industrial serfdom until complete and final triumph crowns the people's cause.

As to his fitness for further promotion, it is only necessary to study his life from our first introduction to the sturdy young man equipping himself for a useful career in the public schools and academy of Poland, to the close of his second term as Governor of Ohio. As a youth, he was industrious and earnest; as a young soldier, he was courageous and noble; as a lawyer, painstaking and capable; as a statesman, able and honorable, and as a Governor, broad-minded and fearless in the discharge of all duties. He is a type of American citizenship and American manhood of which we may well be proud, and whether his public life terminates now, or he achieves still further honors, the name of McKinley will never be erased from the memories of a vast majority of his party followers, who are rightly inspired by the hope that he may some day be President of the United States.

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